

TACITUS
Histories
Book III

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CORNELII TACITI

HISTORIARVM

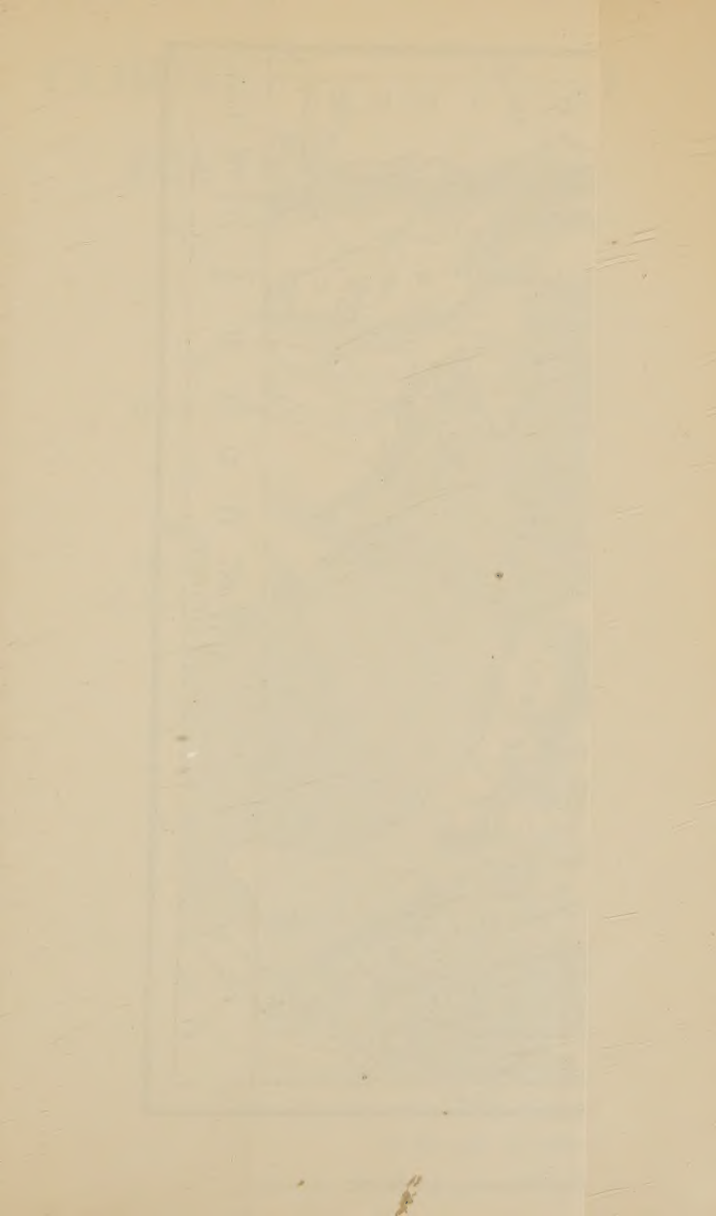
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OF ITALY

ch of the Flavian army on Rome

CORNELII TACITI
HISTORIARVM

LIBER III

Edited

With Introduction, Notes and Index

by

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PREFATORY NOTE.

THE Third Book of Tacitus' *Histories* is admirably suited to a student who is beginning to make the acquaintance of the greatest of Latin prosaists, and it has a unity of its own such as no book of either *Histories* or *Annals* can claim. Yet I have found, by bitter experience, that the existing English editions were quite inadequate to the needs of such students. On my pointing this out to the Syndics, they were kind enough to suggest that I should prepare an edition for them. I have done my best, but it is not easy, in interpreting Tacitus to those who know only the Latin of Cicero and Vergil, Horace and Livy, to secure that which I know to be essential for success—brevity and clearness. Often I have had to suppress a possible interpretation in favour of the one which seemed to me personally in every way preferable—a dictatorial policy which the scope of the book made almost a necessity. With the class of students for whom I have written, and their teachers, the verdict must rest. I have of course used the regular editions, such as those of Ritter and Heraeus, but perhaps owe most to the excellent Gerber-Greef Tacitus lexicon. Scientific arrangement, clearness of statement, accurate typography make its reading not merely instructive, but delightful. And of how few works of reference can the same be said!

WALTER C. SUMMERS.

SHEFFIELD, 1904.

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INTRODUCTION.

I. SILVER LATIN.

Modern scholarship, borrowing its terms from ancient mythology, has distinguished the earlier period of classical Latin literature from the later by the application to them respectively of the epithets 'Golden' and 'Silver.' If ever there was a golden period in the earth's history, a period when wrong was unknown and the ground yielded its fruits untilled and untended, we may be sure that it was only by degrees that it changed its character, and that there must have been a moment which no man could confidently assign to the one metal and refuse to the other. So it is with the literature of Rome. The usual division at the death of Augustus (14 A.D.) is not satisfactory. The causes which produced silver Latin developed gradually during the first century B.C., before the end of which signs of the new style are manifest enough. It is clearly foreshadowed by that of Sallust¹, whilst in Livy perhaps, and certainly in Ovid, we have more silver than gold. Sallust died in 34 B.C., Livy's style is adequately represented by his first ten books, which were almost certainly published between 30 and 20 B.C.², and Ovid's best work (the *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti*) belongs to the period 2 B.C.—8 A.D.

¹ The resemblances between the style and language of Sallust and Tacitus are very numerous : see Index s. v. 'Sallust.' Iug. 57. 6 is thoroughly Tacitean in expression and spirit.

² A passage in Bk. 1 seems to belong to a period after 29 B.C. and before 25 B.C.; another in Bk. 9 dates before 20 B.C.

It would, indeed, be better to reckon the new Latin as beginning with the new era. To the first century A.D. belong almost all the writers who shew us its infancy, developement and perfection. Unfortunately, towards the close of Augustus' reign the stream of Roman literature begins to fail and continues slight until the reign of Nero, when we find it once more full, and bringing down with its flood sand that is mainly silver. For this, the stream, even at its narrowest, has prepared us: a careful study of Velleius, and Valerius Maximus¹, of the fragments of Severus² and Albinovanus³ and of the specimens which the elder Seneca⁴ has preserved of the eloquence of the late Augustan and Tiberian periods shews us the steady advance of the silver element: at each step we leave further and further behind the Latin of the Republic and the most famous Augustans.

What are the characteristics of this later style? Individual sentences of a silver writer might often pass for those of an earlier hand. But one could hardly read a page and remain in doubt. Even Quintilian, who does his best to return to Ciceronian Latin, continually, by vocabulary and grammar at least, reveals his century. For, apart from the use of words either new or so archaic or colloquial⁶ that Cicero and even the less fastidious Cæsar avoided them, these silver writers often use the literary words of the golden age in quite new senses. *Affectus* now means 'affection,' *numerosus*

¹ Manilius' style is neither golden nor silver—it is Manilian, and no more can be said.

² The most certain fact that helps us to the date of S. is that Ovid writes to him from exile.

³ He wrote a poem on the campaigns undertaken by Germanicus at the beginning of 'Tiberius' reign.

⁴ In the extant *Oratorum et rhetorum sententiae* (generally known as *Controuersiae et suasoriae*).

⁵ It is often impossible to distinguish between archaism and colloquialism.

'numerous,' *donare, imponere, imputare* acquire metaphorical force and mean 'spare (trouble, &c.),' 'deceive,' 'claim credit' or 'make responsible¹.' *Quis* is common as an equivalent for *uter*, *quicumque* takes the indefinite force of *quivis*, *circa* and *citra* denote respectively 'concerning' and 'without'; *olim* is used for *diu*, *subinde* for *saepe* (hence Fr. *souvent*), *nec* for the two meanings of *ne*—*quidem*, 'not even' and 'not either.' The grammar too is changed. *Sponte* takes a genitive, the ablative denotes duration of time, the exact force of the ablative absolute is defined by a particle (e.g. its concessive use by *quamquam*), the indicative is used in deliberative sentences or after *quamvis* and *forsitan*. The subjunctive expresses indefinite frequency, and so on². Some of these usages of course occasionally meet us in earlier Latin: many may have belonged to the vulgar tongue³. It is, however, only in this period that they become common in literature—so that, as said above, a writer who dislikes them as un-Ciceronian cannot help falling into them.

But the literary style of the silver writer betrays him most. He writes in an age that detests dulness and the commonplace, and must keep his reader's attention at all costs. His style therefore is often that of the platform, often that of melodrama⁴. Briefly, the mannerisms fall under the heads of (1) Point, (2) Variety, (3) Poetic Dress.

¹ See n. on 53. 12.

² For exx. from this book see Index s. v. 'Silver Latinity.'

³ Thus *imponere* 'deceive' is found in one of Cicero's letters. The same writer has exx. (but only in the abl.) of the indefinite *quicumque*. Even the subj. of indef. frequency is not unknown to him (cp. Reid on Acad. 2. 5. 14).

⁴ The whole age is full of pose. Pliny the younger always feels the eyes of posterity upon him. Very characteristic is the argument which Seneca invents against fear of thunderbolts (N. Q. 2, sub fin.): if you believe they are aimed at you, *si propter*

Under POINT, note first the frequency of epigram. It was of course now that the literary epigram, as a separate poem, was perfected by Martial. But the thing itself permeates the works of such writers as Lucan, Seneca and Tacitus. Antithesis, a favourite weapon of the epigrammatist, is freely used, sometimes abused, by them. Brevity again is studiously aimed at: Livy is much less concise than Tacitus, and Seneca's quick, short sentences contrast strongly with the rounded periods so dear to Cicero. The effort to be brief and yet striking puts a great strain on words and phrases. We have seen above how certain verbs acquire in this way a new meaning: such phrases as *in naufragio navigare* 'sail in a leaky boat' and *tyrannicidium pati* 'suffer penalty for tyrannicide'¹ will further illustrate what I mean. And so Latin ceases to be the clear and simple language that it was. Would Cicero have understood such sentences as *filium tibi dei immortales non diu daturi talem dederunt qualis diu effici potest*², or *quidam ultro officia nostra nobis imputant*³?

Love of VARIETY is so commonly exemplified in Tacitus that I need do little more than refer to the Index under that word. It is one of the points in which Sallust was before his time. The most obvious form of it is when parallel clauses or phrases are put in different constructions. 'He did this from kindness and a desire to help a friend' would become in the best Latin *hoc fecit benevolentia et studio*, etc. (*ob benevolentiam et studium*, etc.) or *h. f. quod benevolus erat et*

te...nubes strepunt, si in tuum exitium tanta vis ignium excutitur: at tu solatii loco numera tanti esse mortem tuam (reckon it a consolation that your death is of such importance to heaven).

¹ Sen. Contr. 7. 1. 8, 2. 5. 9.

² 'As the gods did not propose to let you have your son long, they gave him at the outset a character which it ordinarily takes years to produce' (Sen. Marc. 12. 4).

³ 'Some people actually reckon it as a favour to us that they let us pay them attentions' (id. Tranq. An. 6).

studebat. Sallust and Tacitus would probably mix the two constructions and write, e.g. *h. f. beneuolentia et quod studebat*. A more subtle form is the variation of a common phrase, e.g. by changing the regular order of its members or by substituting for them rarer synonyms. Tacitus writes *pro uirili portione*, and *gestae prospere rei* for the *p. u. parte* and *r. bene gestae* of ordinary prose (20. 24, 77. 29). We meet¹ with a very typical renovation of an old proverb by a silver orator: Cato's rule *rem tene, uerba sequentur* ('grasp your case, and the words will come') now becomes *cum rem animus occupauit, uerba ambiunt*, 'the words come flocking round, seeking acceptance.'

POETIC DRESS was almost essential for writers of silver prose. Their tendency to hysterics found relief in the impassioned style of the poets, whose diction too set off to perfection their genius of rhetoric. Metaphor and Personification run riot in their work, in this respect many centuries nearer us than Cicero's. We have already seen how Metaphor changed the meaning of words: other typical cases are *fastigium*, *temperamentum* and *renuntiare*. Personification begins to be common in Livy, who for instance reproduces Vergil's

ille dies primus leti primusque malorum
causa fuit²

in such sentences as *hic dies Romanis refecit animos*³, and later writers are much bolder. Seneca the elder quotes the phrase *lex irascitur*⁴; even prosaic Pliny the younger can write *suadentibus annis*⁵, and Tacitus ventures on *circumsteterat Palatium publica expectatio*⁶. The poetic tinge affects too vocabulary and grammar. A glance at Lewis and Short will shew how many words occur only in 'poets and post-Augustan

¹ Sen. Contr. 7, pref. 3.

² Aen. 4. 169, 170.

³ 42. 67.

⁴ Contr. 2. 3. 3.

⁵ 3. 7. 6.

⁶ 1 12. For Tacitus' use of Metaphor and Personification in this book, see Index, s. vv.

prose¹: in this book the use of *propinquare*, *remeare*, and *temnere*² will illustrate the point. Most of the poetic constructions too were taken over, e.g. the retained accusative, the genitive of respect, the use of neuter adjectives as nouns (especially with a partitive genitive depending on them), and the free use of the infinitive after verbs, all illustrated in this book³. The tendency shews itself more clearly in some writers⁴ than in others; Tacitus, naturally imaginative and steeped in the works of Vergil, shews it most of all⁵.

One might not unnaturally suppose that the new style may have been due to the fact that Rome's literature was now that of the civilised world. If acute critics could feel that Livy's style was provincial⁶, origin in remote quarters of the empire must surely have been easily traceable in a man's writings. As a matter of fact, a very large number of the first century authors hail from Spain⁷. One thinks of the influence which America and our colonies have had on our own literature. It would not have been the first time that a nation conquered in the field revenged itself on Rome's culture. But most of these men came to Rome early, and stayed there so long that few of their provincialisms can have survived in a city so intolerant of such weaknesses. And the main features of the silver Latinity can be traced to develop-

¹ See e.g. *capax*, *degener*, *hebetare*, *illicere*, *illidere*, *immitis* etc.

² See Index, s.vv.

³ See Index, s.v. 'Adjective,' 'Infinitive' and the various cases.

⁴ For Livy and Vergil, see Conway on Liv. 2. 50. 9.

⁵ A glance at the Index, s.v. 'Vergil,' will shew how often Tac. reproduces his language. Mr Mackail in his eloquent chapter on our author does full justice to the skill with which Tac. in his account of the firing of the Capitol reminds us of Vergil's Sack of Troy.

⁶ So Pollio, according to Quint. 1. 5. 56.

⁷ Both Senecas, Lucan, Columella, Mela, Quintilian and Martial.

ments, or diseases, which came into existence in Rome itself. Before Augustus came to power it had been decided that the higher education of a Roman must aim at one practical end—the production of the public speaker. The royal road thither went by way of the *declamatio*, an exercise composed on a subject set by the teacher, and declaimed in his presence and that of one's fellow-pupils. The practical utility of these declamations was disputed by the Romans themselves¹. There seems to have been no lack of criticism on the part of the teachers. At times indeed they descended to downright insult. Cestius, disgusted with the performance of Varus, son of the general whose army was annihilated by Arminius in 9 A.D., turned on him with the bitter remark 'This is the kind of carelessness that made your father lose all those legions²!' But the examples³ we have of the 'fair copies,' the 'best things' said by the teachers themselves on these themes, shew how little they were likely to correct extravagance and bad taste. These faults, so apparent in the literature of the day, are largely due to the declamations. The subjects were chosen from a small circle and had already been debated over and over again, were often too of a very fantastic character⁴. The declaimer felt that he was outside the domain of common sense, and in the effort to say something new often said what was absurd or offensive. And if a man of literary ability escaped this ordeal, he had still to face that of the social function known as a *recitatio*, the reading of one's work to a

¹ The elder Seneca, Persius, Petronius, Quintilian and Tacitus (in the work mentioned p. xv, n. 1) all attack them.

² Sen. Contr. 1. 3. 10.

³ The work of Seneca referred to p. viii, n. 4 contains a rich store of them.

⁴ For example, a man is saved from pirates by the pirate captain's daughter. On his return with her he finds his father expects him to marry an heiress. On refusal, he is disinherited. The pros and cons of the case are discussed.

select audience¹. The theory was that the author got valuable criticism on his book before it was actually published: in practice, men selected for their audience their personal friends. The audience knew how ill-consorted were friendship and criticism, the author knew that his hearers expected epigram, paradox, poetic prose, polished but nerveless verse, and each party was careful to meet the other's demands. Even the younger Pliny, a warm supporter of the institution, hints that many came not as *auditores* but as *creditores*—to establish their claim to be heard in their turn².

It would, of course, be dangerous to try to draw a parallel between the literature of the present day and that of the first century A.D. The novel and the society play at any rate have shewn some signs of that extravagance, love of paradox, and dread of the direct, which in a period of decline in letters have to serve as substitutes for the qualities attendant on creative genius. Less likely to offend will be a comparison with the literature of the age of Louis Quatorze. In both periods form and outward polish were the standard for criticism, in both the highest kind of poetry ceases to appear, both shew us side by side with keen interest in literature a good deal of dilet-tantism, both presented to posterity but one first-class writer. Yet the value of the work done in France in the 17th century is generally admitted, and I believe that Pliny, however weak may have been the evidence on which he grounded the statement, was right in claiming that his age was no barren one³. To Seneca's letters we owe much of the form and substance of Bacon's Essays; the Senecan plays gave us French tragedy: in Petronius we find the earliest writer of the character novel, in Martial a master of epigram, in Quintilian a man who did much to put the education of the day

¹ See Mayor's note on Juv. 3. 9.

² 1. 13. 5.

³ 5. 17. 6 (on the strength of the elegiacs of one Calpurnius Piso).

on a sounder basis; from Pliny and Juvenal we derive such a picture of the bright and dark sides of the life of their century as no golden writer left us of his. Many indeed were the centuries that were to pass before men saw the equal of this for literary activity and productiveness. And before it ended it produced one of the world's great writers. Tacitus, like Quintilian, seems at first to have tried to return to the simple Ciceronian style¹. But the age still cherished the 'Declamation' and the 'Reading.' Nor was it natural that in literature, more than in its sister arts, mere return to former ideals could satisfy genius. Not the least instructive of pleasures is it to watch the gradual growth of the style of Tacitus from that early work onward until in the Histories and the Annals the most perfect union of deep imaginativeness and sobriety of judgment finds adequate expression and the new Latin is justified for all time.

II. HISTORICAL SUMMARY.

The events narrated in this book belong to the latter half of the year 69 A.D. In this year no less than four Romans held or obtained imperial power, a fact which naturally suggests the question: how did Rome choose the masters whom she so easily changed?

In all but name the dictator Julius Cæsar was emperor of Rome. But, although he made his grand-nephew his heir, this by no means meant that after the assassination of March 15, 44 B.C.² his position was at once occupied by Octavian. In theory the republican constitution was now

¹ I assume his authorship of the *Dialogus de oratoribus*, an inquiry into the causes of the decay of eloquence.

² 68. 1, *repentina uis dictatorem Caesarem oppresserat*.

restored, and, though in practice the rival ambitions of Octavian and Antonius made such a restoration a farce, it is from the battle of Actium in 31 B.C. that the empire really dates, with Octavian—or, to use the name which he soon afterwards took, Augustus—for the first emperor.

Still, in theory even an emperor received his power from the people, and could no more appoint his successor than the consuls of one year really appointed those of the next. But by the final adoption of his stepson Tiberius and the conferring upon him of the highest offices Augustus made his wishes clear to the senate, with whom, in practice, the initiative was found to lie. And so Tiberius succeeded in 14 A.D. and in much the same way was followed in 37 by his grand-nephew Gaius (Caligula). This tyrant soon fell a victim to a plot formed by the officers of the Prætorian guard¹. This guard, one of the institutions of Augustus, numbered some 9000 men, serving only in Italy and regarded as specially attached to the Emperor's person. Tiberius first concentrated them at Rome in a permanent camp² adjoining the city wall. They were a privileged corps and shared the faults of such bodies—arrogance and contempt for discipline. They had not taken long to shew that they might prove a danger to the very rulers whom they were intended to protect. On Gaius' death the senate proclaimed the restoration of the Republic, but the guards, on whom of course everything really depended, fully realised that a republic would find no place for a corps like theirs. As they roamed about the palace someone drew out from behind a curtain the trembling uncle of the murdered emperor. Claudius was a man of the weakest character: more by way of a jest than for any good reason they proclaimed him emperor, and the senate said no more of the new Republic. After Claudius, thanks to the influence of Agrip-

¹ 68. 2, *occultae Gaium insidiae*.

² 84. 11.

pina, came his stepson Nero. Of that prince's extravagances the provinces seem to have been the first to weary. Vindex, governor of one of the Gallic provinces, started the revolt, and was joined by Galba, governor of the Tarraconensis province of Spain: it was agreed that the latter was to be emperor. But the governor of Upper Germany, Verginius Rufus¹, at once marched against Vindex and utterly crushed him at Vesontio. The Spanish governor would probably have met the same fate, but at this juncture the guards, who had for some time been discontented, suddenly broke out and proclaimed him emperor—of course on the understanding that they should receive a handsome acknowledgment in coin². The senate followed their lead, Nero was declared an outlaw, caught in the country house of one of his freedmen to which he had fled, and put to death³ (June, 68 A.D.).

When the new emperor arrived the guards were ill pleased. The contrast to Nero was very marked. Galba was a martinet, and, worst of all, a martinet with a love for economy. He was even foolish enough to delay payment of the promised reward. The first protests however came from the German provinces. Here was quartered an army of seven legions. Those of the upper province were proud of their victory over Vindex and had already offered to support Verginius in a candidature for the purple. Verginius shewed himself proof against temptation, but was nevertheless recalled to Rome, and replaced by a successor of very feeble character. In January the troops proclaimed Vitellius, the governor of the lower province. Their nominee was a noble by birth, but his weak and sensual character augured ill for his success. He had however at his disposal two able generals, Cæcina and Valens, who, leaving Vitellius to follow after he had collected more troops, at once marched for Italy. Before they could get there, Galba was dead. Early in the new year he had

¹ 62. 19.

² *donatium* (10. 2).

³ 68. 2, *nox et ignotum rus fugam Neronis absconderant*.

adopted, and so marked for the succession, a young noble belonging to the famous house of the Pisos¹. Otho, a man whose dissolute character is very typical of the court of Nero which he had adorned, and who had done much for Galba in the early stages of his revolt, had reckoned on receiving this honour. The guards too were disgusted, for Piso's honourable and virtuous character held out to them no brilliant prospects. The aggrieved parties soon began to intrigue together, and on Jan. 15 the guard proclaimed their new emperor². Deceived by a rumour that Otho had been killed, Galba and Piso left the palace with a small escort and were attacked in the forum by the guards in full force³. Galba's escort deserted him and the emperor was at once killed. Piso escaped to the temple of Vesta but was dragged out and murdered.

The emperor whom the guards had set up was of course duly recognised by the senate. Apart from this, Otho's claims were superior to those of Vitellius only in the fact that he was in possession. Each seems to have tried to buy off his adversary⁴ but the German legions had no intention of losing their profits by allowing such a compromise. So war was inevitable. The troops of the Danube, quartered in Dalmatia, Pannonia and Mœsia accepted Otho, and strong detachments of the legions from the two former (and nearest) provinces soon arrived: the main body advanced in a more leisurely way⁵. But Otho would not hear of delay, and so a

¹ I 12 sqq.

² I 24 sqq.

³ 68. 3, *Piso et Galba tamquam in acie cecidere*. The charge of the guards (described I 40) perhaps suggested *in acie*: battle there really was not, as shewn above.

⁴ I 74.

⁵ I 76, II 11. In the latter passage Tac. says distinctly that an advance guard was sent on from the 4 legions of Dalmatia and Pannonia: the legions themselves, he says, came behind, and he tells us their numbers, 7, 11, 13 and 14. Then, before Bedriacum, we meet with a *uexillum* of the 13th (*i.e.* its advanced guard: see

battle took place at Bedriacum, between Cremona and Verona¹. The emperor himself was not present, and his troops had small faith in the loyalty of his generals². Their cavalry began well, driving in the superior force of the enemy³. But as the latter's infantry advanced a rumour spread that they had thrown Vitellius over, and the Othonians giving up all idea of fighting prepared to receive them as friends⁴. They were soon undeceived and a fierce struggle began, which ended in favour of the Vitellians. The Othonians were driven back to their camp and surrendered next day. The battle need not have been final. The Mœsian legions had actually reached Aquileia⁵ and it was not by any means the whole of Otho's forces that had been routed⁶. But Otho refused to con-

Note, p. 150) engaged in a skirmish (II 24), and in the account of Bedriacum the 13th and 14th are mentioned (ib. 43). No doubt only the advanced guards fought there, for in ib. 66 he says that only *uexillarii*, not the *uires*, of the 14th were present, and the same was doubtless the case with the other legions.

¹ II 32 sqq.

² II 33. The legionary of that day was very ready to believe he was being betrayed. Tac. has a characteristic story (II 26) of how Cæcina's men put one of their officers in chains suspecting him to be in collusion with his brother, a tribune in Otho's army: the Othonians had done the same, on similar grounds, to the brother. Cp. too 4. 20, 10. 30 of this book. As an actual fact some of Otho's generals did claim credit from Vitellius for having mismanaged things (II 60).

³ II 41, referred to in 2. 25 of this book.

⁴ II 42 (= 2. 18 of this book). Suet. Oth. 9 says the battle was won *fraude*: his account however seems to confuse two distinct things (narrated by Tac. in two separate chapters, 41 and 42).

⁵ II 46. Mœsian *cavalry* seem to have fought at Bedriacum (2. 25 of this book), but Tac. does not say so in II.

⁶ II 44: troops had been left with Otho, and even of those who had not, a large number had remained at Bedriacum.

tinue the struggle and by suicide resigned in favour of his rival.

Meanwhile Vitellius himself was advancing, bringing with him reinforcements—among them 8000 picked from the legions of Britain¹. The meeting between him and the generals of both sides took place at Lyons. Only to the centurions of the conquered army was severity shewn: they were for the most part put to death—a step which greatly incensed the troops of the Danube². The Othonian legions were as far as possible dispersed—the *prima classicorum* (Adiutrix) went to Spain, the 7th and 11th were returned to Pannonia, the 14th was despatched to Britain, whilst the 13th received the task of building amphitheatres at Bononia and Cremona, where Valens and Cæcina entertained their new-made emperor with gladiatorial games³. The existing Prætorian guard was almost entirely disbanded and its place taken by a fresh one of 16 cohorts, enrolled of course mainly from the legions of Germany⁴.

West and North had thus done their best to fill the imperial throne. The hour of the East was come. In Syria a large army had for some time been assembled—four legions at the disposal of the governor Mucianus, three under T. Flavius⁵ Vespasian, a general specially appointed to crush the revolt of Judæa. Of these two remarkable men⁶ Mucianus possessed undoubtedly the more brilliant qualifications for an

¹ II 57 (=1. 11, 22. 11, of this book). ² II 60.

³ II 66, 67 (=13. 26, 32. 27, 44. 10 of this book).

⁴ II 67, 93. Hence *Germanicæ cohortes* of prætorians in 69. 29.

⁵ Hence *partes Flavianæ* etc.

⁶ Tac. says of them (II 5) *egregium principatus temperamentum, si demptis utriusque uitiis solæ uirtutes miscerentur*: i.e. if you could have rolled them into one, retaining their virtues but rejecting their vices, you could have made a fine emperor.

emperor. He seems however to have thought that his candidature would be a failure and devoted all his energies to persuading Vespasian to stand. The actual proclamation of the new pretender was made first by the governor of Egypt¹, (July 1, 69 A.D.), and the legions of Syria soon followed suit. A money largess was of course promised and the chance of dealing another blow at Vitellius was welcomed by the legions of Mœsia and Pannonia. Here the moving spirit was the commander of the 7th legion, Antonius Primus. His character, as sketched for us by Tacitus², explains much of what followed. 'Vigorous in action, ready of speech, an adept at bringing unpopularity on others, a man to whom civil strife gave much influence, equally ready to rob or give a bribe: in time of peace, simply a thoroughly bad character, but in time of war one who had to be reckoned with.' Under Nero indeed he had been banished for forgery³, but had regained his senatorial rights in the course of the civil wars, and been given his command by Galba.

Vitellius for some time affected to ignore the bad news from the East, though he took care to summon reinforcements from Germany, Britain and Spain⁴. But this was a farce that could not be kept up for long, and Cæcina was sent off northward to meet the enemy. Valens, who was in weak health, was to follow in due course⁵. But Bassus, commander of the fleets⁶, had resolved to change sides, and seems to have persuaded Cæcina to do the same. The second book of the

¹ II 79.

² II 86.

³ A. 14. 40, II l.c., and 13. 28 of this book.

⁴ II 96 sqq.

⁵ II 99 sqq.

⁶ II 100: *Ravennati simul ac Misenensi classibus a Vitellio praepositus*. He only succeeded with the Ravenna fleet, the other being of course within easy reach of Rome. It was doubtless on receipt of this news that Vit. gave the Misenum fleet a new commander (57. 13).

Histories concludes with an account of the measures they took to undermine the fidelity of their troops to Vitellius¹.

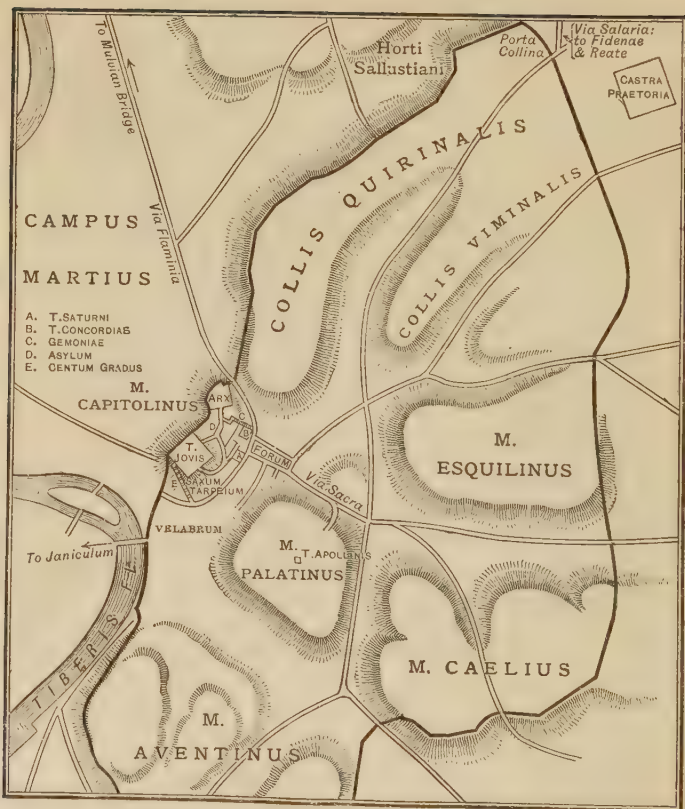
¹ The chief authorities for the period covered by this book are, besides Tac. himself, the *Vitae Caesarum* of his younger contemporary Suetonius and the history of Dio Cassius (b. 155 A.D.) so far as it survives in the abridgments of Xiphilinus and Zonaras (writers of the 11th and 12th centuries respectively).

As for the sources used by Tacitus, he only mentions the names of the elder Pliny (28. 8) and Messalla (9. 31 n.), several times referring to his authorities in general terms (22. 8 *alii*, 29. 30 *omnes auctores*, 51. 21 *celeberrimi auctores*, 54. 22 *quidam*, 59. 14 *multi*). In 69. 13 he drops a hint as to the difficulty he sometimes has in giving details. In the Annals he sometimes refers to the *acta diurna* (almost 'newspapers'), the *acta* (minutes) of the senate, and various memoirs (e.g. those of Agrippina the younger and Corbulo).

VARIATIONS FROM HALM'S TEXT.

<i>Halm</i>	<i>This edition</i>
3 12 interpretatione	interpretationem
6 28 per proxima quacque	proxima quaeque petunt*
8 3 [ac] ne	ne
15 1 milites inbuerentur	miles imbueretur
16 13 citissimus	ultimus
23 5 [tormentorum]	tormentorum
50 17 [donatiui...est]	(donatiui...est)
72 11 omits	patrati
84 31 [Auentinum]	Auentinum

* *petunt* is my own conjecture.



MAP OF ROME

(to illustrate chapters 65 sqq.)

CORNELII TACITI
HISTORIARVM

LIBER III.

1. Meliore fato fideque partium Flauianarum
duces consilia belli tractabant. Poetouionem in hiberna tertiae decumae
legionis conuenerant. illic agitauiere,
placeretne obstrui Pannoniae Alpes, donec a tergo 5
uires uniuersae consurgerent, an ire comminus et
certare pro Italia constantius foret. quibus opperiri auxilia et trahere bellum
uidebatur, Germanicarum legionum uim
famamque extollebant, et aduenisse mox cum Vitellio 10
Britannici exercitus robora: ipsis nec numerum parem
pulsarum nuper legionum, et quamquam atrociter
loquerentur, minorem esse apud uictos animum. sed
insessis interim Alpibus uenturum cum copiis Orientis
Mucianum; superesse Vespasiano mare, classes, studia 15
prouinciarum, per quas uelut alterius belli molem
cieret. ita salubri mora nouas uires adfore, ex prae-
sentibus nihil perituum.

Meeting of
the Flavian
generals at
Poetouio.

Arguments
in favour of
delay

2. Ad ea Antonius Primus (is acerrimus belli

opposed by
Antonius concitator) festinationem ipsis utilem,
Vitellio exitiosam disseruit. plus socor-

diae quam fiduciae accessisse victoribus; neque enim
5 in procinctu et castris habitos: per omnia Italiae
municipia desides, tantum hospitibus metuendos,
quanto ferocius antea egerint, tanto cupidius insoli-
tas uoluptates hausisse; circo quoque ac theatris et
amoenitate urbis emollitos aut uoletudinibus fessos.

10 sed addito spatio rediturum et his robur meditatione
belli; nec procul Germaniam, unde uires; Britanniam
freto dirimi, iuxta Gallias Hispaniasque, utrimque
uiros, equos, tributa, ipsamque Italiam, et opes urbis;
ac si inferre arma ultro uelint, duas classes uacuum-
15 que Illyricum mare. quid tum claustra montium
profutura? quid tractum in aestatem aliam bellum?
unde interim pecuniam et commeatus? quin potius
eo ipso uterentur, quod Pannonicae legiones deceptae
magis quam uictae resurgere in ultionem properent,
20 Moesici exercitus integras uires attulerint. si nu-
merus militum potius quam legionum putetur, plus
hinc roboris, nihil libidinum; et profuisse disciplinae
ipsum pudorem: equites uero ne tum quidem uictos,
sed quamquam rebus aduersis disiectam Vitellii
25 aciem. 'duae tunc Pannonicae ac Moesicae alae
perrupere hostem: nunc sedecim alarum coniuncta
signa pulsu sonituque et nube ipsa operient ac super-
fundent oblitos proeliorum equites equosque. nisi
quis retinet, idem suasor auctorque consilii ero. uos,
30 quibus fortuna in integro est, legiones continete:
mihi expeditae cohortes sufficient. iam reseratam

Italiam, impulsas Vitellii res audietis. iuuabit sequi et uestigiis uincentis insistere.'

3. Haec ac talia flagrans oculis, truci uoce, quo
 with great effect. latius audiretur (etenim se centuriones
 et quidam militum consilio miscuerant), 5
 ita effudit, ut cautos quoque ac prouidos permoueret,
 uulgus et ceteri unum uirum ducemque, spreta ali-
 orum segnitia, laudibus ferrent. hanc sui
 His in- fluence with the troops very great, famam ea statim contione commouerat,
 qua recitatis Vespasiani epistulis non ut 10
 plerique incerta disseruit, huc illuc trac-
 turus interpretationem, prout conduxisset: aperte
 descendisse in causam uidebatur, eoque grauior mili-
 tibus erat, culpaue uel gloriae socius.

4. Proxima Cornelii Fusci procuratoris auctoritas. 15
 that of Fuscus is quoque inclementer in Vitellium inuehi
 coming next. solitus nihil spei sibi inter aduersa reli-
 querat. Tampius Flauianus, natura ac
 Flavianus, the governor of Pannonia, they dis- trusted. senecta cunctantior, suspiciones militum
 inritabat, tamquam adfinitatis cum Vitel- 20
 lio meminisset; idemque, quod coeptante
 legionum motu profugus, dein sponte remeauerat,
 perfidiae locum quaesisse credebatur. nam Flauia-
 num, omissa Pannonia ingressum Italiam et discrimini
 exemptum, rerum nouarum cupido legati nomen 25
 resumere et misceri ciuilibus armis impulerat, sua-
 dente Cornelio Fusco, non quia industria Flauiani
 egebat, sed ut consulare nomen surgentibus cum
maxime partibus honesta specie praetenderetur.

5. Ceterum ut transmittere in Italiam *bellum* 30
 impune et usui foret, scriptum Aponio Saturnino,

cum exercitu Moesico celeraret. ac ne inermes prouin-
 Moesian ciae barbaris nationibus exponerentur,
 army sum- principes Sarmatarum Iazygum, penes
 moned and quos ciuitatis regimen, in commilitium
 steps taken for adsciti. plebem quoque et uim equitum,
 5 Danube and qua sola ualent, offerebant: remissum
 Inn lines. id munus, ne inter discordias externa molirentur aut
 maiore ex diuerso mercede ius fasque exuerent.
 trahuntur in partes Sido atque Italicus reges Sue-
 10 borum, quis uetus obsequium erga Romanos et gens
 fidei quam iussorum patientior. *opposita* in latus
 auxilia, infesta Raetia, cui Porcius Septiminus pro-
 curator erat, incorruptae erga Vitellium fidei. igitur
 Sextilius Felix cum ala Auriana et octo cohortibus
 15 ac Noricorum iuuentute ad occupandam ripam Aeni
 fluminis, quod Raetos Noricosque interfluit, missus.
 nec his aut illis proelium temptantibus, fortuna
 partium alibi transacta.

6. Antonio uexillarios e cohortibus et partem
 20 equitum ad inuadendam Italiam rapienti
 comes fuit Arrius Varus, strenuus bello,
 quam gloriam ei dux Corbulo et pros-
 perae in Armenia res addiderant. idem secretis
 apud Neronem sermonibus ferebatur Corbulonis
 25 uirtutes criminatus; unde infami gratia primum
 pilum adepto laeta ad praesens male parta mox in
 perniciem uertere. sed Primus ac Varus
 occupata Aquileia proxima quaeque pe-
 30 tunt et Opitergii et Altini laetis animis
 accipiuntur. relictum Altini praesidium
 aduersus classis Rauennatis *conatus*,

seizes Aquileia
 &c., and has
 a successful
 skirmish
 with some
 Vitellians.

nondum defectione eius audita. inde Patauium et Ateste partibus adiungere. illic cognitum tris Vitellianas cohortes *et* alam, cui Sebosianae nomen, ad Forum Alieni ponte iuncto consedissee. placuit occasio inuadendi incuriosos; nam id quoque nuntiabatur. 5 luce prima inermos plerosque oppressere. praedictum, ut paucis interfectis ceteros pauore ad mutandam fidem cogerent. et fuere qui se statim dederent: plures abrupto ponte instanti hosti uiam abstulerunt.

7. (Vulgata uictoria) post principia belli secundum 10

It is then
joined by
Pannonian
legions.

Flauianos data, legiones septima Galbiana, tertia decuma Gemina cum Vedio Aquila legato Patauium alacres ueniunt.

ibi pauci dies ad requiem sumpti, et Minucius Iustus praefectus castrorum legionis septimae, quia adduc- 15 tius quam ciuili bello imperitabat, subtractus militum

Antonius
has Galba's
statues
restored.

irae ad Vespasianum missus est. desiderata diu res interpretatione gloriaque in maius accipitur, postquam Galbae

imagines discordia temporum subuersas in omnibus 20 municipiis recoli iussit Antonius, decorum pro causa ratus, si placere Galbae principatus et partes reuircere crederentur.

8. Quaesitum inde, quae sedes bello legeretur.

Verona
made base of
operations.

Verona potior uisa, patentibus circum 25 campis ad pugnam equestrem, qua praeualebant: simul coloniam copiis ualidam

auferre Vitellio in rem famamque uidebatur. possessa ipso transitu Vicetia; quod per se paruum (etenim modicae municipio uires) magni momenti locum 30 obtinuit reputantibus illic Caccinam genitum et

patriam hostium duci ereptam. in Veronensibus pretium fuit: exemplo opibusque partes iuuere; et interiectus exercitus Raetiam Iuliasque Alpes, ne peruium illa Germanicis exercitibus foret, obsaeperat.

5 Vespasian and Mucianus powerless to control the plan of campaign. quae ignara Vespasiano aut uetita: quippe Aquileiae sisti bellum exspecta-
rique Mucianum iubebat, adiciebatque imperio consilium: quando Aegyptus, claustra annonae, uectigalia opulentis-

10 simarum prouinciarum obtinerentur, posse Vitellii exercitum egestate stipendii frumentique ad deditionem subigi. eadem Mucianus crebris epistulis monebat, incruentam et sine luctu uictoriam et alia huiusce modi praetextendo, sed gloriae audius atque
15 omne belli decus sibi retinens. ceterum ex distantibus terrarum spatiis consilia post res adferebantur.

9. Igitur repentino incursu Antonius stationes

Caecina encamps N. of Hostilia. hostium inrupit; temptatisque leui proelio animis ex aequo discessum. mox Caecina
20 inter Hostiliam, uicum Veronensium, et paludes Tartari fluminis castra permuniit, tutus loco, cum terga flumine, latera obiectu paludis tegerentur. quod si adfuisset fides, aut opprimi uniuersis Vitellianorum uiribus duae legiones, nondum coniuncto
25 Moesico exercitu, potuere, aut retro actae deserta Italia turpem fugam consciuissent. sed Caecina per uarias moras prima hostibus prodidit tempora belli, dum quos armis pellere promptum erat, epistulis increpat, donec per nuntios pacta perfidiae firmaret.
30 interim Aponius Saturninus cum legione septima Claudiana aduenit. legioni tribunus Vipstanus Mes-

salla praeerat, claris maioribus, egregius ipse et qui
 Aponius, solus ad id bellum artes bonas attulisset.
 governor of
 Moesia, joins
 Antonius with
 one of his
 legions. has ad copias nequaquam Vitellianis pares
 (quippe tres adhuc legiones erant) misit
 epistulas Caecina, temeritatem uicta arma 5
 tractantium incusans; simul uirtus Ger-
 manici exercitus laudibus attollebatur,
 Vitellii modica et uulgari mentione, nulla
 in Vespasianum contumelia: nihil prorsus,
 quod aut corrumpere hostem aut terreret. 10
 Flauianarum partium duces omissa prioris fortunae
 defensione pro Vespasiano magnifice, pro causa
 fidenter, de exitu securi, in Vitellium ut inimici
 praesumpsero, facta tribunis centurionibusque re-
 tinendi quae Vitellius indulsisset spe; atque ipsum 15
 Caecinam non obscure ad transitionem hortabantur.
 recitatae pro contione epistulae addidere fiduciam,
 quod summisae Caecina, uelut offendere Vespasi-
 anum timens, ipsorum duces contemptim tamquam
 insultantes Vitellio scripsissent. 20

10. Aduentu deinde duarum legionum, e quibus

The latter,
 on the arrival
 of the rest of
 the troops,
 fortify Ve-
 rona.

tertiam Dillius Aponianus, octauam Nu-
 misius Lupus ducebant, ostentare uires
 et militari uallo Veronam circumdare
 placuit. forte Galbianae legioni in ad- 25
 uersa fronte ualli opus cesserat, et uisi

procul sociorum equites uanam formidinem ut hostes

The soldiers
 attack Flavi-
 anus and drive
 him from the
 camp.

fecere. rapiuntur arma metu proditionis.
 ira militum in Tampium Flauianum in-
 cubuit, nullo criminis argumento, sed 30
 iam pridem inuisus turbine quodam ad

exitium poscebatur: propinquum Vitellii, proditorem Othonis, interceptorem donatiui clamitabant. nec defensionis locus, quamquam supplices manus tenderet, humi plerumque stratus, lacera ueste, pectus atque
 5 ora singultu quatiens. id ipsum apud infensos incitamentum erat, tamquam nimius pauor conscientiam argueret. obturbabatur militum uocibus Aponius, cum loqui coeptaret; fremitu et clamore ceteros aspernantur. uni Antonio apertae militum aures;
 10 namque et facundia aderat mulcendique uulgum artes et auctoritas. ubi crudescere seditio et a conuiciis ac probris ad tela et manus transibant, inici catenas Flauiano iubet. sensit ludibrium miles, disiectisque qui tribunal tuebantur extrema uis para-
 15 batur. opposuit sinum Antonius stricto ferro, aut militum se manibus aut suis moriturum obtestans, ut quemque notum et aliquo militari decore insignem aspexerat, ad ferendam opem nomine ciens. mox conuersus ad signa et bellorum deos, hostium potius
 20 exercitibus illum furorem, illam discordiam inicerent orabat, donec fatisceret seditio et extremo iam die sua quisque in tentoria dilaberentur. profectus eadem nocte Flauianus obuiis Vespasiani litteris discrimini exemptus est.

25 11. Legiones uelut tabe infectae Aponium Saturninum Moesici exercitus legatum
 Aponius
 meets the
 same fate.
 eo atrocius aggrediuntur, quod non, ut prius, labore et opere fessae, sed medio diei exarserant, uulgatis epistulis, quas Saturninus
 30 ad Vitellium scripsisse credebatur. ut olim uirtutis modestiaeque, tunc procacitatis et petulantiae

certainen erat, ne minus uolenter Aponium quam Flavianum ad supplicium deposcerent. quippe Moesicae legiones adiutam a se Pannonicorum ultionem referentes, et Pannonici, uelut absoluerentur aliorum seditione, iterare culpam gaudebant. in hortos, in 5 quibus deuertebatur Saturninus, pergunt. nec tam Primus et Aponianus et Messalla, quamquam omni modo nisi, eripuerunt Saturninum, quam obscuritas latebrarum quibus occulebatur, uacantium forte balnearum fornacibus abditus. mox omissis lictoribus 10

Antonius
then assumes
the chief
command.

Patauium concessit. digressu consularium uni Antonio uis ac potestas in utrumque exercitum fuit, cedentibus collegis et obuensis militum studiis. nec deerant qui crederent utramque seditionem fraude Antonii coep- 15 tam, ut solus bello frueretur.

12. Ne in Vitellii quidem partibus quietae

Bassus
effects the
revolt of the
Ravenna fleet.

mentes: exitiosiore discordia non suspicionibus uulgi, sed perfidia ducum turbabantur. Lucilius Bassus classis 20 Rauennatis praefectus ambiguos militum animos, quod magna pars Delmatae Pannonique erant, quae prouinciae Vespasiano tenebantur, partibus eius aggregauerat. nox proditioni electa, ut ceteris ignaris soli in principia defectores coirent. Bassus pudore 25 seu metu, quisnam exitus foret, intra domum opperiebatur. trierarchi magno tumultu Vitellii imagines inuadunt; et paucis resistentium obtruncatis ceterum uulgus rerum nouarum studio in Vespasianum inclinabat. tum progressus Lucilius auctorem se palam 30 praebet. classis Cornelium Fuscum praefectum sibi

destinat, qui propere accucurrit. Bassus honorata custodia Liburnicis nauibus Atriam peruectus a praefecto alae Viuennio Rufino, praesidium illic agitante, uincitur, sed exsoluta statim uincula interuentu
 5 Hormi Caesaris liberti: is quoque inter duces habebatur.

13. At Caecina, defectione classis uulgata, primores centurionum et paucos militum, ceteris per militiae munia dispersis, secretum castrorum adfectans in principia uocat. ibi Vespasiani uirtutem uiresque partium extollit: transfugisse classem, in arto com-
 meatum, aduersas Gallias Hispaniasque, nihil in urbe fidum; atque omnia de Vitellio in deterius. mox
 15 incipientibus qui conscii aderant, ceteros re noua attonitos in uerba Vespasiani adigit; simul Vitellii imagines dereptae et missi qui Antonio nuntiarent.

Caecina tries to surprise his troops into joining the Flavians.

They are indignant,

sed ubi totis castris in fama proditio, recurrens in principia miles praescriptum
 20 Vespasiani nomen, proiectas Vitellii effigies aspexit, uastum primo silentium, mox cuncta simul erumpunt: huc cecidisse Germanici exercitus gloriam, ut sine proelio, sine uulnere uinctas manus et capta traderent arma? (quas enim ex diuerso legiones? nempe
 25 uictas; et abesse unicum Othoniani exercitus robur, primanos quartadecumanosque, quos tamen isdem illis campis fuderint strauerintque.) ut tot armatorum milia, uelut grex uenalium, exuli Antonio donum darentur? octo nimirum legiones unius classis
 30 accessionem fore. id Basso, id Caecinae uisum— postquam domos hortos opes principi abstulerint,

etiam auferre militem. integros incruentosque, Flavianis quoque partibus uiles, quid dicturos repositibus aut prospera aut aduersa?

14. Haec singuli, haec uniuersi, ut quemque
 put Caecina in chains, and march to join two legions previously stationed at Cremona. dolor impulerat, uociferantes, initio a 5
 quinta legione orto, repositis Vitellii imaginibus uincla Caecinae iniciunt; Fabium Fabulum quintae legionis legatum et Cassium Longum praefectum castrorum duces deligunt; forte oblatos trium Liburnicarum 10
 milites, ignaros et insontes, trucidant; relictis castris, abrupto ponte, Hostiliam rursus, inde Cremonam pergunt, ut legionibus primae Italicae et unietuicensimae Rapaci iungerentur, quas Caecina ad obtinendam Cremonam cum parte equitum praemiserat. 15

15. Vbi haec comperta Antonio, discordes animis, discretos uiribus hostium exercitus aggredi statuit, antequam ducibus auctoritas, militi obsequium et iunctis legionibus fiducia rediret. namque Fabium Valentem 20
 profectum ab urbe acceleraturumque cognita Caecinae proditione coniectabat; et fidus Vitellio Fabius nec militiae ignarus. simul ingens Germanorum uis per Raetiam timebatur. ex Britannia Galliaque et Hispania auxilia Vitellius acciuerat, immensam 25
 belli molem, ni Antonius id ipsum metuens festinato proelio uictoriam praecepisset. uniuerso cum exercitu secundis a Verona castris Bedriacum uenit. postero die legionibus ad muniendum retentis, auxiliares cohortes in 30
 Cremonensem agrum missae, ut specie

Antonius sets out for Cremona.

At Bedriacum he leaves the legions and presses on with cavalry and light troops.

^{supplies}
 parandarum copiarum ciuili praeda miles imbuere-
 tur: ipse cum quattuor milibus equitum ad octauum
 a Bedriaco progressus, quo licentius popularentur.
 exploratores, ut mos est, longius cursabant.

5 16. Quinta ferme hora diei erat, cum citus eques

The enemy's
 cavalry
 sighted. Varus
 charges, but is
 driven back.

aduentare hostes, praegredi paucos, mo-
 tum fremitumque late audiri nuntiauit.
 dum Antonius quidnam agendum con-
 sultat, auiditate nauandae operae Arrius

10 Varus cum promptissimis equitum prorupit impulit-
 que Vitellianos, modica caede;) nam plurium accursu
 uersa fortuna, et acerrimus quisque sequentium fugae
 ultimus erat. nec sponte Antonii properatum, et
 fore quae acciderunt rebatur. hortatus suos ut mag-

15 no animo capesserent pugnam, diductis in latera
 turmis uacuum medio relinquit iter, quo Varum

Antonius
 sends for the
 legions,

equitesque eius reciperet; iussae armari
 legiones: datum per agros signum ut,
 qua cuique proximum, omissa praeda

20 proelio occurreret. pavidus interim Varus turbae
 suorum miscetur intulitque formidinem. pulsi cum
 sauciis integri suomet ipsi metu et angustiis uiarum
 conflictabantur.

17. Nullum in illa trepidatione Antonius con-

25 and mean-
 while rallying
 his men re-
 pulses the
 enemy.

stantis ducis aut fortis militis officium
 omisit. occursare pauentibus, retinere
 cedentes, ubi plurimus labor, unde aliqua
 spes, consilio manu uoce insignis hosti,

conspicius suis. eo postremo ardoris prouectus est,
 30 ut uexillarium fugientem hasta transuerberaret; mox
 raptum uexillum in hostem uertit. quo pudore haud

plures quam centum equites restitere: iuuat locus, artiore illic uia et fracto interfluentis riui ponte, qui incerto alueo et praecipitibus ripis fugam impediebat. ea necessitas seu fortuna lapsas iam partes restituit. firmati inter se densis ordinibus excipiunt 5 Vitellianos temere effusos, atque illi consternantur. Antonius instare percussis, sternere obuios, simul ceteri, ut cuique ingenium, spoliare, capere, arma equosque abripere. et exciti prospero clamore, qui modo per agros fuga palabantur, uictoriae se misce- 10 bant.

18. Ad quartum a Cremona lapidem fulsere
 Pressing on, he meets the two legions from Cremona, which however, thrown into confusion by their own cavalry, are easily routed. legionum signa Rapacis atque Italicae, laeto inter initia equitum suorum proelio 15 illuc usque prouecta. sed ubi fortuna contra fuit, non laxare ordines, non recipere turbatos, non obuiam ire ultroque aggredi hostem tantum per spatium cursu et pugnando fessum: forte ~~ducti~~ **victi** haud
 perinde rebus prosperis ducem desiderauerant atque 20 in aduersis deesse intellegebant. nutantem aciem uictor equitatus incursat; et Vipstanus Messalla tribunus cum Moesicis auxiliariis adsequitur, quos multi e legionariis quamquam raptim ductos aequabant: ita mixtus pedes equesque rupere legionum 25
 They fall back on Cremona. Antonius halts. agmen. et propinqua Cremonensium moenia quanto plus spei ad effugium, minorem ad resistendum animum dabant. nec Antonius ultra institit, memor laboris ac uulnerum, quibus tam anceps proelii fortuna, quamuis 30 prospero fine, equites equosque adflictauerat.

19. Inumbrante uespera uniuersum Flauiani

His legions
arrive, eager
to advance and
sack Cremona.

exercitus robur aduenit. utque cumulos
super et recentia caede uestigia incessere,
quasi debellatum foret, pergere Cremo-

5 nam et uictos in deditionem accipere aut expugnare
deposcunt. haec in medio, pulchra dictu; illa sibi
quisque: posse coloniam plano sitam impetu capi;
idem audaciae per tenebras inrumpentibus et maiorem
rapiendi licentiam; quod si lucem opperiantur, iam
10 pacem, iam preces, et pro labore ac uulneribus cle-
mentiam et gloriam, inania, laturos, sed opes Cremo-
nensium in sinu praefectorum legatorumque fore;
expugnatae urbis praedam ad militem, deditae ad
duces pertinere. spernuntur centuriones tribunique,
15 ac ne uox cuiusquam audiatur, quatiunt arma, rupturi
imperium, ni ducantur.

20. Tum Antonius inserens se manipulis, ubi

Antonius
tries to dis-
suade them.

aspectu et auctoritate silentium fecerat,
non se decus neque pretium eripere tam
20 bene meritis adfirmabat, sed diuisa inter

exercitum ducesque munia: militibus cupidinem pug-
nandi conuenire, duces prouidendo, consultando,
cunctatione saepius quam temeritate prodesse. ut
pro uirili portione armis ac manu uictoriam iuuerit,
25 ratione et consilio, propriis ducis artibus, profuturum;
neque enim ambigua esse, quae occurrant, noctem
et ignotae situm urbis, intus hostes et cuncta insidiis
opportuna. non si pateant portae, nisi explorato,
nisi die intrandum. an oppugnationem inchoaturos
30 adempto omni prospectu, quis aequus locus, quanta
altitudo moenium, tormentisne et telis an operibus et

uineis aggredienda urbs foret? mox conuersus ad singulos, num secures dolabrasque et cetera expugnandis urbibus secum attulissent, rogitabat. et cum abnuerent, 'gladiisne' inquit 'et pilis perfringere ac subruere muros ullae manus possunt? si aggerem 5 struere, si pluteis cratibusue protegi necesse fuerit, ut uulgus improuidum inriti stabimus, altitudinem turrium et aliena munimenta mirantes? quin potius mora noctis unius, aduectis tormentis machinisque, uim uictoriamque nobiscum ferimus?' simul lixas 10 calonesque cum recentissimis equitum Bedriacum mittit, copias ceteraque usui adlaturos.

21. Id uero aegre tolerante milite prope seditionem uentum, cum progressi equites
News arrives that the legions from Hostilia (ch. 14) are approaching. sub ipsa moenia uagos e Cremonensibus 15 corripiunt, quorum indicio noscitur sex Vitellianas legiones omnemque exercitum, qui Hostiliae egerat, eo ipso die triginta milia passuum emensum, comperta suorum clade in proelium accingi ac iam adfore. is terror obstructas 20
Preparations for battle. mentes consiliis ducis aperuit. sistere tertiam decumam legionem in ipso uiae Postumiae aggere iubet, cui iuncta a laeuo septima Galbiana patenti campo stetit, dein septima Claudi- 25 ana, agresti fossa (ita locus erat) praemunita; dextro octaua per apertum limitem, mox tertia densis ar- bustis intersaepta. hic aquilarum signorumque ordo: milites mixti per tenebras, ut fors tulerat; prae- torianum uexillum proximum tertianis, cohortes auxi- liorum in cornibus, latera ac terga equite circumdata; 30 Sido atque Italicus Suebi cum delectis popularium primore in acie uersabantur.

22. At Vitellianus exercitus, cui acquiescere

The Vitellians come up, and fierce fighting ensues.

Cremonae et reciperatis cibo somnoque uiribus confectum algore atque inedia hostem postera die profligare ac proruere

5 ratio fuit, indigus rectoris, inops consilii, tertia ferme noctis hora paratis iam dispositisque Flauianis impingitur. ordinem agminis disiecti per iram ac tenebras adseuerare non ausim, quamquam alii tradiderint quartam Macedonicam dextrum suorum
 10 cornu, quintam et quintam decumam cum uexillis nonae secundaeque et uicensimae Britannicarum legionum mediam aciem, sextadecumanos duoet uicensimanosque et primanos laeuum cornu complesse. Rapaces atque Italici omnibus se manipulis mis-
 15 cuerant; eques auxiliaque sibi ipsi locum legere. proelium tota nocte uarium, anceps, atrox, his, rursus illis exitiabile. nihil animus aut manus, ne oculi quidem prouisu iuuabant. eadem utraque acie arma, crebris interrogationibus notum pugnae signum,
 20 permixta uexilla, ut quisque globus capta ex hostibus huc uel illuc raptabat. urgebatur maxime septima legio, nuper a Galba conscripta. occisi sex primorum ordinum centuriones, abrepta quaedam signa: ipsam aquilam
 25 Atilius Verus primi pili centurio multa cum hostium strage et ad extremum moriens seruauerat.

23. Sustinuit labentem aciem Antonius accitis

Execution done by the Vitellian artillery.

praetorianis. qui ubi excepere pugnam, pellunt hostem, dein pelluntur. namque Vitelliani tormenta in aggerem uiae contulerant, ut tela uacuo atque aperto excuterentur, dispersa primo et arbustis sine hostium noxa inlisa.

30

magnitudine eximia quintae decumae legionis ballista ingentibus saxis hostilem aciem proruebat.

A dangerous piece disabled by the heroism of two of the Flavian troops.

lateque cladem intulisset, ni duo milites praeclarum facinus ausi, arreptis e strage scutis ignorati, uincla ac libramenta tormentorum abscidissent. statim confossi

sunt eoque intercidere nomina: de facto haud ambigitur.

The rise of the moon gives the latter the advantage.

neutro inclinauerat fortuna, donec adulta nocte luna surgens ostenderet acies falleretque. sed Flauianis

aequior a tergo; hinc maiores equorum uirorumque umbrae, et falso, ut in corpora, ictu tela hostium citra cadebant: Vitelliani aduerso lumine conlucentes uelut ex occulto iaculantibus incauti offerebantur.

15

24. Igitur Antonius, ubi noscere suos noscique

Antonius can now see and work on his men.

poterat, alios pudore et probris, multos laude et hortatu, omnes spe promissisque accendens, cur resumpsissent arma Pan-

nonicas legiones interrogabat: illos esse campos, in quibus abolere labem prioris ignominiae, ubi recipere gloriam possent. tum ad Moesicos conuersus principes auctoresque belli ciebat: frustra minis et uerbis prouocatos Vitellianos, si manus eorum oculosque non tolerant. haec, ut quosque accesserat; plura ad tertianos, ueterum recentiumque admonens, ut sub M. Antonio Parthos, sub Corbulone Armenios, nuper Sarmatas pepulissent. mox infensius praetorianis 'uos' inquit, 'nisi uincitis, pagani, quis alius imperator, quae castra alia excipient? illic signa armaque uestra sunt, et mors uictis; nam ignominiam

30

consumpsistis.' undique clamor, et orientem solem (ita in Suria mos est) tertiani salutauere.

25. Vagus inde an consilio ducis subditus

At sunrise
the rumour
5 spreads that
Mucianus
and his rein-
forcements
have arrived.

Encouraged
by this, the
10 Flavians put
their enemies
to flight.

rumor, aduenisse Mucianum, exercitus
in uicem salutasse. gradum inferunt
quasi recentibus auxiliis aucti, rariore
iam Vitellianorum acie, ut quos nullo
rectore suus quemque impetus uel pauor
contraheret *diduceret*ue. postquam *im-*
pulsos sensit Antonius, denso agmine
obturbabat. laxati ordines abrumpuntur,

nec restitui quiuere inpedientibus uehiculis tormen-
tisque. per limitem uiae sparguntur festinatione

Horrible
15 episode of
the rout.

consectandi uictores. eo notabilior cae-
des fuit, quia filius patrem interfecit. rem
nominaque auctore Vipstano Messalla

tradam. Iulius Mansuetus ex Hispania, Rapaci
legioni additus, impubem filium domi liquerat. is
mox adultus, inter septimanos a Galba conscriptus,

20 oblatum forte patrem et uulnere stratum dum
semianimem scrutatur, agnitus agnoscensque et ex-
sanguinem amplexus, uoce flebili precabatur piatos
patris manes, neue se ut parricidam auersarentur:
publicum id facinus; et unum militem quotam ci-

25 uilium armorum partem? simul attollere corpus,
aperire humum, supremo erga parentem officio fungi.
aduertere proximi, deinde plures: hinc per omnem
aciem miraculum et questus et saeuissimi belli ex-
secratio. nec eo segnius propinquos adfinis fratres
30 trucidant spoliant: factum esse scelus loquuntur
faciuntque.

26. Vt Cremonam uenere, nouum immensumque

On reach-
ing Cremona
they realise
the difficulty
of their task.

opus occurrit. Othoniano bello Ger-

manicus miles moenibus Cremonensium
castra sua, castris uallum circumiecerat

eaque munimenta rursus auxerat. quo- 5

rum aspectu haesere uictores, incertis ducibus quid

iuberent. incipere oppugnationem fesso per diem

noctemque exercitu arduum, et nullo iuxta subsidio

anceps: sin Bedriacum redirent, intolerandus tam

longi itineris labor, et uictoria ad inritum reuolue- 10

batur: munire castra—id quoque propinquis hostibus

formidolosum, ne dispersos et opus molientes subita

eruptione turbarent. quae super cuncta terrebat

ipsorum miles periculi quam morae patientior: quippe

ingrata quae tuta, ex temeritate spes; omnisque 15

caedes et uulnera et sanguis auiditate praedae pen-

sabantur.

27. Huc inclinauit Antonius cingique uallum

They attack
the outer
camp, but can
do nothing,

corona iussit. primo sagittis saxisque

eminus certabant, maiore Flauianorum 20

pernicie, in quos tela desuper librabantur;

mox uallum portasque legionibus attribuit, ut discre-

tus labor fortes ignauosque distingueret atque ipsa

contentione decoris accenderentur. proxima Bedria-

censi uiae tertiani septimanique sumpsere, dexteriora 25

ualli octaua ac septima Claudiana; tertiadecumanos

ad Brixianam portam impetus tulit. paulum inde

morae, dum ex proximis agris ligones dolabras et

alii falces scalasque conuectant: tum elatis super

capita scutis densa testudine succedunt. Romanae 30

utrimque artes: pondera saxorum Vitelliani prouol-

uunt, disiectam fluitantemque testudinem lanceis
 contisque scrutantur, donec soluta compage scutorum
 exsanguis aut laceros prosternerent multa cum strage.

until the promise that the city shall be theirs to sack
 5 incesserat cunctatio, ni duces fesso militi
 et uelut inritas exhortationes abnuenti
 Cremonam monstrassent.

28. Hormine id ingenium, ut Messalla tradit, an

rouses them to fresh efforts. potior auctor sit C. Plinius, qui Antonium
 incusat, haud facile discreuerim, nisi

10 quod neque Antonius neque Hormus a fama uitae
 sua quamuis pessimo flagitio degenerauere. non iam
 sanguis neque uulnera morabantur quin subruerent
 uallum quaterentque portas innixi umeris et super
 iteratam testudinem scandentes prensarent hostium
 15 tela brachiaque. integri cum sauciis, semineces cum
 expirantibus uoluuntur, uaria pereuntium forma et
 omni imagine mortium.

29. Acerrimum tertiae septimaeque legionum

The 3rd and 7th legions distinguish themselves most
 20 certamen; et dux Antonius cum delectis
 auxiliaribus eodem incubuerat. obstina-
 tos inter se cum sustinere Vitelliani ne-
 quirent et superiacta tela *de* testudine
 laberentur, ipsam postremo ballistam in subeuntes
 propulere, quae ut ad praesens disiecit obruitque
 25 quos inciderat, ita pinnae ac summa ualli ruina sua
 traxit; simul iuncta turris ictibus saxorum cessit,
 qua septimani dum nituntur cuneis, tertianus securi-
 bus gladiisque portam perfregit. primum
 30 inrupisse C. Volusium tertiae legionis
 militem inter omnes auctores constat.
 is in uallum egressus, deturbatis qui restiterant,

conspicius manu ac uoce capta castra conclamauit; ceteri trepidis iam Vitellianis seque e uallo praecipitantibus perrupere. completur caede quantum inter castra murosque uacui fuit.

30. Ac rursus noua laborum facies: ardua urbis 5

The city
itself still
remains to
be taken.

moenia, saxeae turres, ferrati portarum obices, uibrans tela miles, frequens obstrictusque Vitellianis partibus Cremonensis populus, magna pars Italiae stato in eosdem

dies mercatu congregata, quod defensoribus auxilium 10 ob multitudinem, oppugnantibus incitamentum ob

Antonius
prepares to
assault,

praedam erat. rapi ignes Antonius inferrique amoenissimis extra urbem aedificiis iubet, si damno rerum suarum

Cremonenses ad mutandam fidem traherentur. pro- 15 pinqua muris tecta et altitudinem moenium egressa fortissimo quoque militum complet; illi trabibus tegulisque et facibus propugnatores deturbant.

31. Iam legiones in testudinem glomerabantur,

but the
Vitellians, es-
pecially the
officers, begin
to waver,

et alii tela saxaque incutiebant, cum lan- 20 guescere paulatim Vitellianorum animi.

ut quis ordine anteibat, cedere fortunae, ne Cremona quoque excisa nulla ultra uenia, omnisque ira uictoris non in uulgus inops sed in tribunos centurionesque, ubi pretium caedis erat, 25 reuerteretur. gregarius miles futuri socors et ignobilitate tutior perstabat: uagi per uias, in domibus abditi pacem ne tum quidem orabant, cum bellum posuissent. primores castrorum nomen atque imagines Vitellii amoliuntur; ca- 30 tenas Caecinae (nam etiam tunc uinctus erat)

and finally
surrender.

dit.

exsoluunt orantque ut causae suae deprecator adsistat. aspernantem tumentemque lacrimis fatigant, extremum malorum, tot fortissimi uiri proditoris opem inuocantes; mox uelamenta et infulas pro
 5 They march out unharmed: muris ostentant. cum Antonius inhiberi tela iussisset, signa aquilasque extulere; maestum inermium agmen deiectis in terram oculis sequebatur. circumstiterant uictores et primo ingerebant probra, intentabant ictus: mox, ut praebere
 10 ora contumeliis et posita omni ferocia cuncta uicti patiebantur, subit recordatio illos esse, qui nuper Bedriaci victoriae temperassent. sed
 the Flavians however express their contempt for Caecina. ubi Caecina praetexta lictoribusque insignis, dimota turba, consul incessit,
 15 exarsere uictores: superbiam saeuitiamque, (adeo inuisa scelera sunt) etiam perfidiam obiectabant. obstitit Antonius datisque defensoribus ad Vespasianum dimisit.

32. Plebs interim Cremonensium inter armatos
 20 Enmity of the troops against Cremona. conflictabatur; nec procul caede aberant, cum precibus ducum mitigatus est miles. et uocatos ad contionem Antonius adloquitur, magnifice uictores, uictos clementer, de Cremona in neutrum. exercitus praeter insitam
 25 praedandi cupidinem uetere odio ad excidium Cremonensium incubuit. iuuisse partes Vitellianas Othonis quoque bello credebantur; mox tertiadecumanos ad extruendum amphitheatrum relictos, ut sunt procacia urbanae plebis ingenia, petulantibus
 30 iurgiis inluserant. auxit inuidiam editum illic a Caecina gladiatorum spectaculum eademque rursus

belli sedes et praebiti in acie Vitellianis cibi, caesae quaedam feminae studio partium ad proelium progressae; tempus quoque mercatus ditem alioqui
 The odium of the sack put on Antonius. coloniam maiore opum specie complebat. ceteri duces in obscuro: Antonium fortuna famaue omnium oculis exposuerat.
 is balineas abluendo cruori propere petit. excepta uox est, cum teporem incusaret, statim futurum ut incalescerent: uernile dictum omnem inuidiam in eum uertit, tamquam signum incendendae Cremonae
 dedisset, quae iam flagrabat.

33. Quadraginta armatorum milia inrupere, calo-

Sack and burning of Cremona.

num lixarumque amplior numerus et in libidinem ac saeuitiam corruptior. non dignitas, non aetas protegebat: gran-

daeuos senes, exacta aetate feminas, uiles ad praedam, in ludibrium trahebant: ubi adulta uirgo aut quis forma conspicuus incidisset, ui manibusque rapientium diuulsus ipsos postremo direptores in mutuum perniciem agebat. dum pecuniam uel grauia auro templorum dona sibi quisque trahunt, maiore aliorum ui truncabantur. quidam obuia aspernati uerberibus tormentisque dominorum abdita scrutari, defossa eruere: faces in manibus, quas, ubi praedam egesserant, in uacuas domos et inania templa per lasciuiam iaculabantur; utque exercitu uario linguis moribus, cui ciues socii externi interessent, diuersae cupidines et aliud cuique fas nec quicquam illicitum. per quadriduum Cremona suffecit. cum omnia sacra profanaque in ignem considerent, solum Mefitis templum stetit ante moenia, loco seu numine defensum.

34. Hic exitus Cremonae anno ducentesimo octo-
gesimo sexto a primordio sui. condita

Previous
history of the
city.

erat Ti. Sempronio P. Cornelio con-
sulibus, ingruente in Italiam Hannibale,

5 propugnaculum aduersus Gallos trans Padum agentes
et si qua alia uis per Alpes rueret. igitur numero
colonorum, opportunitate fluminum, ubere agri, ad-
nexu conubiisque gentium adoleuit floruitque, bellis

Fate of the
inhabitants,

externis intacta, ciuilibus infelix. Anto-
nius pudore flagitii, crebrescente inuidia,

15 edixit ne quis Cremonensem captium detineret;
inritamque praedam militibus effecerat consensus
Italiae, emptionem talium mancipiorum aspernantis.
occidi coepere; quod ubi enotuit, a propinquis adfi-

15 and subse-
quent history
of the city.

nibusque occulte redemptabantur. mox
rediit Cremonam reliquus populus: re-
posita fora templaque magnificentia mu-
nicipum—et Vespasianus hortabatur.

35. Ceterum adsidere sepultae urbis ruinis noxia

20 The cap-
tured troops
dispersed.

tabo humus haud diu permisit. ad terti-
um lapidem progressi uagos pauentesque
Vitellianos, sua quemque apud signa,
componunt; et uictae legiones, ne manente adhuc
ciuili bello ambigue agerent, per Illyricum dispersae.

25 Messengers
sent to Britain,
Spain, Gaul,
and Germany.

in Britanniam inde et Hispanias nuntios
famamque, in Galliam Iulium Calenum
tribunum, in Germaniam Alpinum Mon-
tanum praefectum cohortis, quod hic Treuir, Calenus
Aeduus, uterque Vitelliani fuerant, ostentui misere.

30 simul transitus Alpium praesidiis occupati, suspecta
Germania, tamquam in auxilium Vitellii accingeretur.

36. At Vitellius profecto Caecina, cum Fabium

Inactivity
of Vitellius
during this
time.

Valentem paucis post diebus ad bellum
impulisset, curis luxum obtendebat: non
parare arma, non adloquio exercitioque

militem firmare, non in ore uulgi agere, sed umbra- 5
culis hortorum abditus, ut ignaua animalia, quibus
si cibum suggeras, iacent torpentque, praeterita
instantia futura pari obliuione dimiserat. atque

He is how-
ever roused by
news of the
treachery of
Bassus and
Caecina.

illum in nemore Aricino desidem et mar-
centem proditio Lucilii Bassi ac defectio 10
classis Rauennatis perculit; nec multo
post de Caecina adfertur mixtus gaudio

dolor, et descuisse et ab exercitu uinctum. plus
apud socordem animum laetitia quam cura ualuit.
multa cum exultatione in urbem reuectus frequenti 15
contione pietatem militum laudibus cumulat; Pub-
lilium Sabinum praetorii praefectum ob amicitiam
Caecinae uinciri iubet, substituto in locum eius
Alfeno Varo.

37. Mox senatum composita in magnificentiam 20

Senate Meet-
ing: discreet
behaviour of
the senators.

oratione adlocutus, exquisitis patrum
adulationibus attollitur. initium atrocis
in Caecinam sententiae a L. Vitellio

factum; dein ceteri composita indignatione, quod
consul rem publicam, dux imperatorem, tantis opibus 25
tot honoribus cumulatus amicum prodidisset, uelut
pro Vitellio conquerentes, suum dolorem proferebant.
nulla in oratione cuiusquam erga Flauianos duces
obtrectatio: errorem imprudentiamque exercituum
culpantes, Vespasiani nomen suspensi et uitabundi 30
circumibant, nec defuit qui unum consulatus diem

(is enim in locum Caecinae supererat) magno cum
A successor appointed for the very short term Caecina's consulship has inrisu tribuentis accipientisque eblan-
 5 to run. diretur. pridie kalendas Nouembris
 Rosius Regulus iniit eiuravitque. adno-
 tabant periti numquam antea non abro-
 gato magistratu neque lege lata alium suffectum
 (nam consul uno die et ante fuerat Caninius Rebilus
 C. Caesare dictatore, cum belli ciuilis praemia festi-
 narentur).

- 10 **38.** Nota per eos dies Iunii Blaesi mors et famosa
Iunius Blaesus attends a party during the illness of Vitellius. fuit, de qua sic accepimus. graui cor-
 poris morbo aeger Vitellius Seruilianis
 hortis turrim uicino sitam conlucere per
 noctem crebris luminibus animaduertit.
 15 sciscitanti causam apud Caecinam Tuscum epulari
 multos, praecipuum honore Iunium Blaesum nunti-
 atur; cetera in maius, de apparatu et solutis in
This is made a ground for accusation against him. lasciuia animis. nec defuere qui ipsum
 20 Tuscum et alios, sed criminosius Blaesum
 incusarent, quod aegro principe laetos
 dies ageret. ubi asperatum Vitellium et posse Blae-
 sum peruerti satis patuit iis, qui principum offensas
 acriter speculantur, datae L. Vitellio delationis partes.
 ille infensus Blaeso aemulatione praua, quod eum
 25 omni dedecore maculosum egregia fama anteibat,
 cubiculum imperatoris reserat, filium eius sinu com-
 plexus et genibus accidens. causam confusionis
 quaerenti, non se proprio metu nec sui anxium, sed
 pro fratre, pro liberis fratris preces lacrimasque
 30 attulisse. frustra Vespasianum timeri, quem tot
 Germanicae legiones, tot prouinciae uirtute ac fide,

tantum denique terrarum ac maris immensis spatiis arceat: in urbe ac sinu cauendum hostem, Iunios Antoniosque auos iactantem, qui se stirpe imperatoria comem ac magnificum militibus ostendet. uersas illuc omnium mentes, dum Vitellius amicorum inimicorumque negligens fouet aemulum principis labores e conuiuio prospectantem. reddendam pro intempestiua laetitia maestam et funebrem noctem, qua sciat et sentiat uiuere Vitellium et imperare et, si quid fato accidat, filium habere.

10

39. Trepidanti inter scelus metumque, ne dilata

He is
poisoned.

Blaesi mors maturam perniciem, palam iussa atrocem inuidiam ferret, placuit ueneno grassari; addidit facinori fidem notabili gaudio Blaesum uisendo. quin et audita est saeuissima Vitellii uox, qua se (ipsa enim uerba referam) pauisse oculos spectata inimici morte iactauit.

His
character.

Blaeso super claritatem natalium et elegantiam morum fidei obstinatio fuit. integris quoque rebus a Caecina et primoribus partium iam Vitellium aspernantibus ambitus abnuere perseuerauit. sanctus, inturbidus, nullius repentini honoris, adeo non principatus appetens, parum effugerat, ne dignus crederetur.

40. Fabius interim Valens multo ac molli con-

25

Valens
makes his way
north in a very
dilatatory
manner.

cubinarum spadonumque agmine segnius quam ad bellum incedens, proditam a Lucilio Basso Rauennatem classem pernicibus nuntiis accepit. et si coeptum iter properasset, nutantem Caecinam praeuenire aut ante discrimen pugnae adsequi legiones potuisset;

30

nec deerant qui monerent, ut cum fidissimis per occultos tramites uitata Rauenna Hostiliam Cremonamue pergeret. aliis placebat accitis ex urbe praetoriis cohortibus ualida manu perrumpere: ipse
 5 inuiti cunctatione agendi tempora consultando consumpsit; mox utrumque consilium aspernatus, quod inter ancipitia deterrimum est, dum media sequitur, nec ausus est satis nec prouidit.

41. Missis ad Vitellium litteris auxilium postulat.

- 10 He sends to Rome for reinforcements. uenere tres cohortes cum ala Britannica, neque ad fallendum aptus numerus neque ad penetrandum. sed Valens ne in tanto
 His infamous behaviour in the mean time. quidem discrimine infamia caruit, quominus rapere inlicitas uoluptates adul-
 15 teriisque polluere hospitum domus crederetur: aderant uis et pecunia et ruentis fortunae nouissima libido. aduentu demum ped-
 The reinforcements sent being insufficient, he turns aside to
 20 Umbria and Etruria, where he gets news of the battle. tum equitumque prauitas consilii patuit, quia nec uadere per hostes tam parua manu poterat, etiam si fidissima foret, nec integram fidem attulerant; pudor
 tamen et praesentis ducis reuerentia morabatur, haud diuturna uincla apud pauidos periculorum
 et dedecoris securos. eo metu cohortes Ariminum
 25 praemittit, alam tueri terga iubet: ipse paucis, quos aduersa non mutauerant, comitantibus flexit in Vmbriam atque inde Etruriam, ubi cognito pugnae Cremonensis euentu non ignauum et, si prouenisset, atrox consilium iniit, ut arreptis nauibus in quamcumque partem
 30 Narbonensis prouinciae egressus Gallias et exercitus et Germaniae gentes nouumque bellum cieret.

42. Digresso Valente trepidos, qui Ariminum

Fuscus
occupies the
plains of Um-
bria and the
sea-coast of
Picenum for
Vespasian.

tenebant, Cornelius Fuscus, admoto exer-
citu et missis per proxima litorum Li-
burnicis, terra marique circumuenit :
occupantur plana Umbriae et qua Picens 5
ager Hadria adluitur, omnisque Italia

Valens reaches
Monaco, and is
advised not to
enter Gallia
Narbonensis

inter Vespasianum ac Vitellium Appennini iugis
diuidebatur. Fabius Valens e sinu Pi-
sano segnitia maris aut aduersante uento
portum Herculis Monoeci depellitur. 10
haud procul inde agebat Marius Maturus

Alpium maritimarum procurator, fidus Vitellio, cuius
sacramentum cunctis circa hostilibus nondum ex-
uerat. is Valentem comiter exceptum, ne Galliam
Narbonensem temere ingrederetur, monendo terruit; 15
simul ceterorum fides metu infracta.

43. Namque circumiectas ciuitates procurator

as Paulinus is
actively sup-
porting Ves-
pasian there.

Valerius Paulinus, strenuus militiae et
Vespasiano ante fortunam amicus, in
uerba eius adegerat; concitisque omni- 20

bus, qui exauctorati a Vitellio bellum sponte sumebant,
Foroiuliensem coloniam, claustra maris, praesidio
tuebatur, eo grauior auctor, quod Paulino patria
Forum Iuli et honos apud praetorianos, quorum
quondam tribunus fuerat, ipsique pagani fauore 25
municipali et futurae potentiae spe iuuare partes
adnitebantur. quae ut paratu firma et aucta rumore
apud uarios Vitellianorum animos increbruere, Fabius
Valens cum quattuor speculatoribus et tribus amicis,
totidem centurionibus, ad naues regreditur; Maturo 30
ceterisque remanere et in uerba Vespasiani adigi

uolentibus fuit. ceterum ut mare tutius Valenti quam litora aut urbes, ita futuri ambiguus et magis quid uitaret quam cui fideret certus, aduersa tempestate Stoechadas Massiliensium insulas deferitur. ibi eum missae a Paulino Liburnicae oppres-
sere.

On sailing
from Monaco
he is driven by
a storm to the
Stoechadas,
5 where Pau-
linus' men
capture him.

44. Capto Valente cuncta ad uictoris opes con-

Vespasian's
cause is now
10 everywhere
supported.

uersa, initio per Hispaniam a prima Adiutrice legione orto, quae memoria Othonis infensa Vitellio decumam quo-
que ac sextam traxit, nec Galliae cunctabantur. at
Britanniam inclinatus erga Vespasianum fauor, quod
illic secundae legioni a Claudio praepositus et bello
15 clarus egerat, non sine motu adiunxit ceterarum, in
quibus plerique centuriones ac milites a Vitellio
prouecti expertum iam principem anxii mutabant.

45. Ea discordia et crebris belli ciuilis rumoribus

British rising:
20 Venutius and
Cartimandua.

Britanni sustulere animos auctore Venu-
tio, qui super insitam ferociam et Romani
nominis odium propriis in Cartimanduum
reginam stimulis accendebatur. Cartimandua Bri-
gantibus imperitabat, pollens nobilitate; et auxerat
potentiam, postquam capto per dolum rege Carataco
25 instruxisse triumphum Claudii Caesaris uidebatur.
inde opes et rerum secundarum luxus: spreto Venutio
(is fuit maritus) armigerum eius Vellocatum in
matrimonium regnumque accepit. concussa statim
flagitio domus: pro marito studia ciuitatis, pro adultero
30 libido reginae et saeuitia. igitur Venutius accitis
auxiliis, simul ipsorum Brigantum defectione in ex-

tremum discrimen Cartimanduum adduxit. tum petita a Romanis praesidia. et cohortes alaeque nostrae uariis proeliis, exemere tamen periculo reginam; regnum Venutio, bellum nobis relictum.

46. Turbata per eosdem dies Germania, et 5
Trouble in Germany, to be narrated hereafter. socordia ducum, seditione legionum, externa ui, perfidia sociali prope adflicta Romana res. id bellum cum causis et euentibus (etenim longius prouectum est) mox memorabimus. mota et Dacorum gens 10
A Dacian revolt put down by Mucianus. numquam fida, tunc sine metu, abducto e Moesia exercitu. sed prima rerum quieti speculabantur: ubi flagrare Italiam bello, cuncta in uicem hostilia accepere, expugnatis cohortium alarumque hibernis utraque Danuuii ripa 15
 potiebantur. iamque castra legionum excindere parabant, ni Mucianus sextam legionem opposuisset, Cremonensis uictoriae gnarus, ac ne externa moles utrimque ingrueret, si Dacus Germanusque diuersi inrupissent. adfuit, ut saepe alias, fortuna populi 20
 Romani, quae Mucianum uiresque Orientis illuc tulit, et quod Cremonae interim transegimus. Fonteius Agrippa ex Asia (pro consule eam prouinciam annuo imperio tenuerat) Moesiae praepositus est, additis copiis e Vitelliano exercitu, quem spargi per prouin- 25
 cias et externo bello inligari pars consilii pacisque erat.

47. Nec ceterae nationes silebant. subita per
Anicetus in Pontus Pontum arma barbarum mancipium, regiae quondam classis praefectus, mouerat. is fuit Anicetus Polemonis libertus, praepotens 30
 olim, et postquam regnum in formam prouinciae uer-

terat, mutationis impatiens. igitur Vitellii nomine
 adscitis gentibus, quae Pontum accolunt, corrupto
 in spem rapinarum egentissimo quoque, haud tem-
 nendae manus ductor, Trapezuntem uetusta fama
 5 ciuitatem, a Graecis in extremo Ponticae orae con-
 ditam, subitus inrupit. caesa ibi cohors, regium
 auxilium olim; mox donati ciuitate Romana signa
 armaque in nostrum modum, desidia licentiamque
 Graecorum retinebant. classi quoque faces intulit,
 10 uacuo mari eludens, quia lectissimas Liburnicarum
 omnemque militem Mucianus Byzantium adegerat:
 quin et barbari contemptim uagabantur, fabricatis
 repente nauibus. camaras uocant, artis lateribus
 latam aluum sine uinculo aeris aut ferri conexam;
 15 et tumido mari, prout fluctus attollitur, summa
 nauium tabulis augent, donec in modum tecti clau-
 dantur. sic inter undas uoluuntur, pari utrimque
 prora et mutabili remigio, quando hinc uel illinc
 appellere indiscretum et innoxium est.

20 48. Aduertit ea res Vespasiani animum, ut
 dealt with by uexillarios e legionibus ducemque Vir-
 Vespasian, dium Geminum spectatae militiae deli-
 geret. ille inconpositum et praedae cupidine uagum
 hostem adortus coëgit in naues; effectisque raptim
 25 Liburnicis adsequitur Anicetum in ostio fluminis
 Chobi, tutum sub Sedochezorum regis auxilio, quem
 pecunia donisque ad societatem perpulerat. ac primo
 rex minis armisque supplicem tueri: postquam merces
 prodicionis aut bellum ostendebatur, fluxa, ut est
 30 barbaris, fide pactus Aniceti exitium perfugas tra-
 didit, belloque seruili finis impositus.

Laetum ea uictoria Vespasianum, cunctis super
 uota fluentibus, Cremonensis proelii nun-
 tius in Aegypto adsequitur. eo pro-
 perantius Alexandriam pergit, ut fracto
 Vitellii exercitu urbem *Italiamque* ex-
 ternae opis indigam fame urgueret. namque et
 Africam, eodem latere sitam, terra marique inuadere
 parabat, clausis annonae subsidiis inopiam ac dis-
 cordiam hosti facturus.

49. Dum hac totius orbis nutatione fortuna
 imperii transit, Primus Antonius nequa-
 quam pari innocentia post Cremonam
 agebat, satis factum bello ratus et cetera
 ex facili, seu felicitas in tali ingenio auaritiam
 superbiam ceteraque occulta mala patefecit. ut
 captam Italiam persultare, ut suas legiones colere,
 omnibus dictis factisque uiam sibi ad potentiam
 struere. utque licentia militem imbue-
 ret, interfectorum centurionum ordines
 legionibus offerebat. eo suffragio turbidissimus
 quisque delecti; nec miles in arbitrio ducum, sed
 duces militari uiolentia trahebantur. quae seditiosa
 et corrumpendae disciplinae mox in praedam uer-
 tebat, nihil aduentantem Mucianum ueritus, quod
 exitiosius erat quam Vespasianum spreuisse.

50. Ceterum propinqua hieme et umentibus Pado
 campis expeditum agmen incedere. signa
 aquilaeque uictricium legionum, milites
 uulneribus aut aetate graues, plerique
 etiam integri Veronae relictis: sufficere cohortes
 alaeque et e legionibus lecti profligato iam bello

who soon
 afterwards
 hears of the
 battle of
 Cremona.

Antonius'
 success
 spoils him:

discipline is
 relaxed.

Advance of
 the Flavian
 vanguard.

uidebantur. undecuma legio sese adiunxerat, initio

The 11th legion joins it. cunctata, sed prosperis rebus anxia quod

defuisset; sex milia Delmatarum, recens dilectus, comitabantur; ducebat Pompeius Siluanus

5 consularis; uis consiliorum penes Annium Bassum legionis legatum. is Siluanum socordem bello et dies rerum uerbis terentem specie obsequii regebat *et ad* omnia, quae agenda forent, quieta cum industria

10 legionariam militiam poscentibus, optimus quisque

Halt at Fanum Fortunae: demoralisation of the troops. adsciti: classem Delmatae suppleuere. exercitus ducesque ad Fanum Fortunae

iter sistunt, de summa rerum cunctantes, quod motas ex urbe praetorias cohortes audierant

15 et teneri praesidiis Appenninum rebantur; et ipsos in regione bello attrita inopia et seditiosae militum uoces terrebant, clauarium (donatiui nomen est) flagitantium. nec pecuniam aut frumentum prouiderant, et festinatio atque auiditas praepediebant, 20 dum quae accipi poterant rapiuntur.

51. Celeberrimos auctores habeo, tantam uic-

A soldier claims reward for having slain his brother in the recent battle.

25 toribus aduersus fas nefasque inreuerentiam fuisse, ut gregarius eques occisum a se proxima acie fratrem professus praemium a ducibus petierit. nec illis aut honorare eam caedem ius hominum aut ulcisci ratio belli permittebat. distulerant

Historical precedent for the deed, but not for the pride in it.

30 tamquam maiora meritum, quam quae statim exsoluerentur; nec quicquam ultra traditur. ceterum et prioribus ciuium bellis par scelus inciderat. nam proelio,

quo apud Ianiculum aduersus Cinnam pugnatum est, Pompeianus miles fratrem suum, dein cognito facinore se ipsum interfecit, ut Sisenna memorat: tanto acrior apud maiores, sicut uirtutibus gloria, ita flagitiis paenitentia fuit. sed haec aliaque ex uetere 5 memoria petita, quotiens res locusque exempla recti aut solacia mali poscet, haud absurde memorabimus.

52. Antonio ducibusque partium praemitti equites omnemque Vmbriam explorari placuit, si qua Appennini iuga clemen- 10 tius adirentur: acciri aquilas signaque et quidquid Veronae militum foret, Padumque et mare commeatibus compleri. erant inter duces qui necterent moras: quippe nimius iam Antonius, et certiora ex Muciano sperabantur. 15 namque Mucianus tam celeri uictoria anxius, et ni praesens urbe poteretur, expertem se belli gloriaeque ratus, ad Primum et Varum media scriptitabat, instandum coeptis aut rursus cunctandi utilitates edisserens atque ita com- 20 positus, ut ex euentu rerum aduersa abnueret uel prospera agnosceret. Plotium Griphum, nuper a Vespasiano in senatorium ordinem adscitum ac legioni praepositum, ceterosque sibi fidos apertius monuit, hique omnes 25 de festinatione Primi ac Vari sinistre et Muciano uolentia rescribere. quibus epistulis Vespasiano missis effecerat, ut non pro spe Antonii consilia factaque eius aestimarentur.

53. Aegre id pati Antonius et culpam in Mucia- 30 anum conferre, cuius criminationibus euilissent

pericula sua; nec sermonibus temperabat, immodi-
 cus lingua et obsequii insolens. litteras
 Antonius writes boast- ad Vespasianum composuit iactantius
 fully to Vespa- quam ad principem, nec sine occulta in
 5 Mucianum insectatione: se Pannonicas legiones in
 arma egisse, suis stimulis excitos Moesiae duces,
 sua constantia perruptas Alpes, occupatam Italiam,
 intersaepta Germanorum Raetorumque auxilia. quod
 discordes dispersasque Vitellii legiones equestri pro-
 10 cella, mox peditum ui per diem noctemque fudisset,
 id pulcherrimum et sui operis. casum Cremonae bello
 imputandum: maiore damno, plurium urbium exci-
 diis ueteres ciuium discordias rei publicae stetisse.
 non se nuntiis neque epistulis, sed manu et armis
 15 imperatori suo militare; neque officere gloriae eorum,
 qui Daciam interim composuerint: illis Moesiae pa-
 cem, sibi salutem securitatemque Italiae cordi fuisse;
 suis exhortationibus Gallias Hispaniasque, ualidis-
 simam terrarum partem, ad Vespasianum conuersas.
 20 sed cecidisse in inritum labores, si praemia periculo-
 rum soli adsequantur qui periculis non
 The breach between him and Mucia- adfuerint. nec fefellere ea Mucianum;
 nus widens. inde graues simultates, quas Antonius
 simplicius, Mucianus callide eoque implacabilis
 25 nutriebat.

54. At Vitellius fractis apud Cremonam rebus
 nuntios cladis occultans stulta dissimu-
 Vitellius refuses to believe bad news. latione remedia potius malorum quam
 mala differebat: quippe confitenti con-
 30 sultantique supererant spes uiresque: cum e contrario
 laeta omnia fingeret, falsis ingrauescebat. mirum

apud ipsum de bello silentium; prohibiti per ciuitatem sermones, eoque plures ac, si liceret, uere narraturi, quia uetabantur, atrociora uulgauerant. nec duces hostium augendae famae deerant, captos Vitellii exploratores circumductosque, ut robora uictoris 5 exercitus noscerent, remittendo; quos omnis Vitellius

Devotion of
a centurion
who wishes
to convince
him.

secreto percontatus interfici iussit. notabili constantia centurio Iulius Agrestis post multos sermones, quibus Vitellium ad uirtutem frustra accendebat, perpulit, 10

ut ad uires hostium spectandas quaeque apud Cremonam acta forent ipse mitteretur. nec exploratione occulta fallere Antonium temptauit, sed mandata imperatoris suumque animum professus, ut cuncta uiseret postulat. missi qui locum proelii, Cremonae 15 uestigia, captas legiones ostenderent. Agrestis ad Vitellium remeauit, abnuentique uera esse quae adferret atque ultro corruptum arguenti ‘quandoquidem’ inquit ‘magno documento opus est, nec alius iam tibi aut uitae aut mortis meae usus, dabo 20 cui credas.’ atque ita digressus uoluntaria morte dicta firmavit. quidam iussu Vitellii interfectum, de fide constantiaque eadem tradidere.

55. Vitellius ut e somno excitus Iulium Priscum

A large force
sent out to
occupy the
Apennine
passes:

et Alfenum Varum cum quattuordecim 25 praetoriis cohortibus et omnibus equitum alis obsidere Appenninum iubet; secuta e classicis legio. tot milia armatorum,

lecta equis uirisque, si dux alius foret, inferendo quoque bello satis pollebant. ceterae cohortes ad 30 tuendam urbem L. Vitellio fratri datae: ipse nihil

e solito luxu remittens et diffidentia properus festinare

the defence
of the city
assigned to
L. Vitellius.
Vitellius him-
self, after a
while, joins
the army at
Mevania.

comitia, quibus consules in multos annos,
destinabat; foedera sociis, Latium exter-
nis dilargiri; his tributa dimittere, alios
immunitatibus iuare; denique nulla in
posterum cura lacerare imperium. sed
uulgi ad magnitudinem beneficiorum

aderat, stultissimus quisque pecuniis mercabatur,
apud sapientes cassa habebantur, quae neque dari

neque accipi salua re publica poterant. tandem
flagitante exercitu, qui Meuaniam insederat, magno
senatorum agmine, quorum multos ambitione, plures
formidine trahebat, in castra uenit, incertus animi
et infidis consiliis obnoxius.

56. Contionanti (prodigiosum dictu) tantum
foedarum uolucrum superuolitauit, ut
nube atra diem obtenderent. accessit
dirum omen, profugus altaribus taurus

Evil omens:
helplessness
of Vitellius,

disiecto sacrificii apparatu, longe, nec ut feriri
hostias mos est, confossus. sed praecipuum ipse
Vitellius ostentum erat, ignarus militiae, improuidus
consilii, quis ordo agminis, quae cura explorandi,
quantus urguendo trahendoue bello modus, alios
rogitans, et ad omnis nuntios uultu quoque et incessu

trepidus, dein temulentus. postremo
taedio castrorum et audita defectione
Misenensis classis Romam reuertit, re-
centissimum quodque uulnus pauens,

summi discriminis incuriosus. nam cum transgredi

Appenninum integro exercitus sui robore et fessos
hieme atque inopia hostes aggredi in aperto foret,

He insederat
He wiped
to name
Us to

dum dispergit vires, acerrimum militem et usque in extrema obstinatum trucidandum capiendumque tradidit, peritissimis centurionum dissentientibus et, si consulerentur, uera dicturis. arcuere eos intimi amicorum Vitellii, ita formatis principis auribus, ut 5 aspere quae utilia, nec quicquam nisi iucundum et laesurum acciperet.

57. Sed classem Misenensem (tantum ciuilibus discordiis etiam singulorum audacia
 Revolt of the Misenum fleet. uolet) Claudius Fauentinus centurio per 10 ignominiam a Galba dimissus ad defectionem traxit, fictis Vespasiani epistulis pretium proditionis ostentans. praeerat classi Claudius Apollinaris, neque fidei constans neque strenuus in perfidia; et Apinius Tiro praetura functus ac tum 15 forte Minturnis agens ducem se defectoribus obtulit. a quibus municipia coloniaeque impulsae, praecipuo Puteolanorum in Vespasianum studio, contra Capua Vitellio fida, municipalem aemulationem bellis ciuilibus miscebant. Vitellius Claudium 20 Iulianum (is nuper classem Misenensem molli imperio rexerat) permulcendis militum animis delegit; data in auxilium urbana cohors et gladiatores, quibus Iulianus praeerat. ut conlata utrimque 25 castra, haud magna cunctatione Iuliano in partes Vespasiani transgresso, Tarracinam occupauere, moenibus situque magis quam ipsorum ingenio tutam.

58. Quae ubi Vitellio cognita, parte copiarum Narniae cum praefectis praetorii relictæ L. Vitellium 30 fratrem cum sex cohortibus et quingentis equitibus

Iulianus, sent by Vitellius to restore it to its allegiance, joins the rebels. They occupy Tarracina.

ingruenti per Campaniam bello opposuit. ipse aeger

Vitellius sends
his brother to
face the new
danger,

animi studiis militum et clamoribus
populi arma poscentis refouebatur, dum
uulgi ignauum et nihil ultra uerba ausu-

5 holds a levy,
and raises
money at
Rome.

rum falsa specie exercitum et legiones
appellat. hortantibus libertis (nam
amicorum eius quanto quis clarior,

minus fidus) uocari tribus iubet, dantes nomina
sacramento adigit. superfluente multitudine curam

10 dilectus in consules partitur; seruorum numerum et
pondus argenti senatoribus indicit. equites Romani
obtulere operam pecuniasque, etiam libertinis idem
munus ultro flagitantibus. ea simulatio officii a metu
profecta uerterat in fauorem; ac plerique haud

15 perinde Vitellium quam casum locumque principatus
miserabantur. nec deerat ipse uultu uoce lacrimis
misericordiam elicere, largus promissis, et quae natura
trepidantium est, immodicus. quin et Caesarem se
dici uoluit, aspernatus antea, sed tunc superstitione

20 nominis, et quia in metu consilia prudentium et uulgi
rumor iuxta audiuntur. ceterum ut omnia inconsulti
impetus coepta initiis ualida spatio languescunt, dilabi
paulatim senatores equitesque, primo cunctanter et
ubi ipse non aderat, mox contemptim et sine dis-
25 crimine, donec Vitellius pudore inriti conatus quae
non dabantur remisit.

59. Ut terrorem Italiae possessa Meuania ac

Vitellius'
despatch of
troops to Me-
30 vania rouses
the Flavians,

uelut renatum ex integro bellum intu-
lerat, ita haud dubium erga Flauianas
partes studium tam pauidus Vitellii dis-
cessus addidit. erectus Samnis Pae-

lignusque et Marsi aemulatione, quod Campania praeuenisset, ut in nouo obsequio ad cuncta belli munia acres erant. sed foeda hieme per transitum Appennini conflictatus exercitus, et uix quieto agmine niues eluctantibus patuit, quantum discriminis adeundum foret, ni Vitellium retro fortuna uertisset, quae Flauianis ducibus non minus saepe quam ratio adfuit. obuium illic Petilium Cerialem habuere, agresti cultu et notitia locorum custodias 10 Cerialis. Vitellii elapsum. propinqua adfinitas Ceriali cum Vespasiano, nec ipse inglorius militiae, eoque inter duces adsumptus est. Flauio quoque Sabino ac Domitiano patuisse effugium multi tradidere; et missi ab Antonio nuntii per uarias fallendi 15 artes penetrabant, locum ac praesidium monstrantes. Sabinus inhabilem labori et audaciae ualetudinem causabatur: Domitiano aderať animus, sed custodes a Vitellio additi, quamquam se socios fugae promitterent, tamquam insidiantes timebantur. atque 20 ipse Vitellius respectu suarum necessitudinum nihil in Domitianum atrox parabat.

60. Duces partium ut Carsulas uenere, paucos ad requiem dies sumunt, donec aquilae They encamp at Carsulae, signaque legionum adsequerentur. et 25 locus ipse castrorum placebat, late prospectans, tuto copiarum aggestu, florentissimis pone tergum municipiis; simul conloquia cum Vitellianis decem milium spatio distantibus et proditio sperabatur. aegre id pati miles et uictoriam malle quam pacem; ne suas 30 quidem legiones opperiebantur, ut praedae quam

periculorum socias. uocatos ad contionem Antonius docuit esse adhuc Vitellio uires, ambiguas, si deliberarent, acres, si desperassent. initia bellorum ciuilium fortunæ permittenda: uictoriam consiliis

Antonius with-
standing the
demands of his
troops for an
engagement.

et ratione perfici. iam Misenensem classem et pulcherrimam Campaniæ oram descuiisse, nec plus e toto terrarum orbe reliquum Vitellio quam quod inter Tarracinam Narniamque iaceat. satis gloriæ
 10 proelio Cremonensi partum et exitio Cremonae nimium inuidiæ: ne concupiscerent Romam capere potius quam seruare. maiora illis præmia et multo maximum decus, si incolumitatem senatui populoque Romano sine sanguine quaesissent. his ac talibus
 15 mitigati animi.

61. Nec multo post legiones uenere. et terrore

Joined by their
main body
(ch. 50) they
find many of
the Vitellians
coming over to
them,

famaque aucti exercitus Vitellianæ cohortes nutabant, nullo in bellum adhortante, multis ad transitionem, qui
 20 suas centurias turmasque tradere, donum uictori et sibi in posterum gratiam, certabant. per eos cognitum est Interamnâ proximis campis praesidio quadringentorum equitum teneri. missus extemplo Varus cum expedita manu
 25 paucos repugnantium interfecit; plures abiectis armis ueniam petiuere. quidam in castra refugi cuncta formidine implebant, augendo rumoribus uirtutem copiasque hostium, quo amissi praesidii dedecus lenirent. nec ulla apud Vitellianos flagitii
 30 poena, et præmiis defectorum uersa fides ac reliquum perfidiæ certamen. crebra transfugia tribunorum

centurionumque; nam gregarius miles induruerat
 especially after the com-
 manders of the praetorians
 returned to Rome. pro Vitellio, donec Priscus et Alfenus
 desertis castris ad Vitellium regressi
 pudore prodicionis cunctos exsolue-
 rent.

5

62. Isdem diebus Fabius Valens Urbini in
 Valens put to death: custodia interficitur. caput eius Vitel-
 lianis cohortibus ostentatum, ne quam
 ultra spem fouerent; nam peruasisse in Germanias
 Valentem et ueteres illic novosque exercitus ciere 10
 credebant: uisa caede in desperationem uersi. et
 Flauianus exercitus immane quantum *aucto* animo
 exitium Valentis ut finem belli accepit. natus
 his life and character. erat Valens Anagniae equestri familia,
 procax moribus neque absurdus ingenio, 15
ni famam urbanitatis per lasciuiam peteret. ludicro
 Iuuenalium sub Nerone uelut ex necessitate, mox
 sponte mimos actitauit, scite magis quam probe.
 legatus legionis et fouit Verginium et infamauit;
 Fonteium Capitonem corruptum, seu quia corrum- 20
 pere nequiuerat, interfecit: Galbae proditor, Vitellio
 fidus et aliorum perfidia inlustratus.

63. Abrupta undique spe Vitellianus miles trans-
 The Vitellians
 surrender at
 Narnia. iturus in partes, id quoque non sine
 decore, sed sub signis uexillisque in 25
 subiectos Narniae campos descendere.

Flauianus exercitus, ut ad proelium intentus ornatus-
 que, densis circa uiam ordinibus adstiterat. accepti
 in medium Vitelliani, et circumdatos Primus Antonius
 clementer adloquitur: pars Narniae, pars Interamnae 30
 subsistere iussi. relictæ simul e uictricibus legiones,

neque quiescentibus graues et aduersus contumaciam ualidae. non omisere per eos dies Primus

Attempts
made by the
Flavians to
persuade

5 Vitellius to
come to terms.

ac Varus crebris nuntiis salutem et pecuniam et secreta Campaniae offerre Vitellio, si positis armis seque ac liberos suos Vespasiano permisisset. in eundem

modum et Mucianus composuit epistulas; quibus plerumque fidere Vitellius ac de numero seruorum, electione litorum loqui. tanta torpedo inuaserat
10 animum, ut, si principem eum fuisse ceteri non meminissent, ipse obliuisceretur.

64. At primores ciuitatis Flauium Sabinum

Sabinus urged
by Vespasian's
supporters in
15 the city to de-
liver a blow for
his brother
there.

praefectum urbis secretis sermonibus incitabant, uictoriae famaеque partem capesseret: esse illi proprium militem cohortium urbanarum, nec defuturas uigilum cohortes, seruitia ipsorum, for-

tunam partium, et omnia prona uictoribus: ne Antonio Varoque de gloria concederet. paucas Vitellio
20 cohortes et maestis undique nuntiis trepidas; populi mobilem animum et, si ducem se praeuisset, easdem illas adulationes pro Vespasiano fore; ipsum Vitellium ne prosperis quidem parem, adeo ruentibus debilitatum. gratiam patrati belli penes eum, qui
25 urbem occupasset: id Sabino conuenire, ut imperium fratri reseruaret, id Vespasiano, ut ceteri post Sabinum haberentur.

65. Haudquaquam erecto animo eas uoces ac-

His
reluctance.

30 Negotiations
between him
and Vitellius.

cipiebat, inualidus senecta; sed erant qui occultis suspicionibus incesserent, tamquam inuidia et aemulatione fortu-

nam fratris moraretur. namque Flavius Sabinus aetate prior priuatis utriusque rebus auctoritate pecuniaque Vespasianum anteibat, et credebatur adfectam eius fidem parce iuuisse domo agrisque pignori acceptis; unde, quamquam manente in speciem 5 concordia, offensarum operta metuebantur. melior interpretatio, mitem uirum abhorrere a sanguine et caedibus, eoque crebris cum Vitellio sermonibus de pace ponendisque per condicionem armis agitare. saepe domi congressi, postremo in aede Apollinis, ut 10 fama fuit, pepigere. uerba uocesque duos testes habebant, Cluuium Rufum et Silium Italicum: uultus procul uisentibus notabantur, Vitellii proiectus et degener, Sabinus non insultans et miseranti propior.

66. Quod si tam facile suorum mentes flexisset 15

Protests of
Vitellius'
adherents.

Vitellius, quam ipse cesserat, incruentam urbem Vespasiani exercitus intrasset.

ceterum ut quisque Vitellio fidus, ita

pacem et condiciones abnuebant, discrimen ac dedecus ostentantes et fidem in libidine uictoris. nec 20 tantam Vespasiano superbiam, ut priuatum Vitellium pateretur, ne uictos quidem laturos: ita periculum ex misericordia. ipsum sane senem et prosperis aduersisque satiatum, sed quod nomen, quem statum filio eius Germanico fore? nunc pecuniam et familiam et 25 beatos Campaniae sinus promitti: sed ubi imperium Vespasianus inuaserit, non ipsi, non amicis eius, non denique exercitibus securitatem nisi exstincto aemulatore *redituram*. Fabium illis Valentem, captium et casibus dubiis reseruatum, prae grauem fuisse, 30 nedum Primus ac Fuscus et specimen partium

Mucianus ullam in Vitellium nisi occidendi licentiam habeant. non a Caesare Pompeium, non ab Augusto Antonium incolumes relictos, nisi forte Vespasianus altiores spiritus gerat, Vitelli cliens, cum Vitellius
 5 collega Claudio foret. quin, ut censuram patris, ut tres consulatus, ut tot egregiae domus honores deceret, desperatione saltem in audaciam accingeretur. perstare militem, superesse studia populi; denique nihil atrocius euenturum, quam in quod
 10 sponte ruant. moriendum uictis, moriendum deditis: id solum referre, nouissimum spiritum per ludibrium et contumelias effundant an per uirtutem.

67. Surdae ad fortia consilia Vitellio aures:
 Vitellius
 15 nevertheless, on hearing of the surrender at Narnia, comes into the Forum
 obruebatur animus miseratione curaque, ne pertinacibus armis minus placabilem uictorem relinqueret coniugi ac liberis. erat illi et fessa aetate parens; quae tamen paucis ante diebus opportuna morte excidium domus praeuenit, nihil principatu fili
 20 adsecuta nisi luctum et bonam famam. XV kalendas Ianuarias audita defectione legionis cohortiumque, quae se Narniae dediderant, pullo amictu Palatio degreditur, maesta circum familia; ferebatur lecticula paruulus filius uelut in funebrem pompam: uoces
 25 populi blandae et intempestiuae, miles minaci silentio.

68. Nec quisquam adeo rerum humanarum in-
 and formally
 30 abdicates. Everybody is deeply moved,
 memor, quem non commoueret illa facies, Romanum principem et generis humani paulo ante dominum relictam fortunae suae sede per populum, per urbem exire de imperio. nihil tale uiderant, nihil audierant.

repentina uis dictatorem Caesarem oppresserat, occultae Gaium insidiae, nox et ignotum rus fugam Neronis absconderant, Piso et Galba tamquam in acie cecidere: in sua contione Vitellius, inter suos milites, prospectantibus etiam feminis, pauca et 5 praesenti maestitiae congruentia locutus (cedere se pacis et rei publicae causa: retinerent tantum memoriam sui fratremque et coniugem et innoxiam liberorum aetatem miserarentur), simul filium pro- tendens, modo singulis modo uniuersis commendans, 10 postremo fletu praepediente adsistenti consuli (Caecilium Simplex erat) exsolutum a latere pugionem, and the crowd uelut ius necis uitaeque ciuium, reddebat. compel him to return to the aspernante consule, reclamantibus qui in Palatium. contione adstiterant, ut in aede Con- 15 cordiae positurus insignia imperii domumque fratris petiturus discessit. maior hinc clamor obsistentium penatibus priuatis, in Palatium uocantium: inter- clusum aliud iter, idque solum, quo in sacram uiam pergeret, patebat. tum consilii inops in Palatium 20 rediit.

69. Praeuenerat rumor eiurari ab eo imperium, scripseratque Flavius Sabinus cohortium tribunis, ut militem cohiberent. igitur 25 Meanwhile Sabinus, urged on by the extremists, is on his way to the Forum. tamquam omnis res publica in Vespasiani sinum cecidisset, primores senatus et plerique equestris ordinis omnisque miles urbanus et uigiles domum Flauii Sabini compleuere. illuc de studiis uulgi et minis Germanicarum cohortium adfertur. longius iam progressus erat, quam 30 ut regredi posset; et suo quisque metu, ne disiectos

eoque minus ualidos Vitelliani consecrarentur, cunctantem in arma impellebant: sed quod in eius modi rebus accidit, consilium ab omnibus datum est, periculum pauci sumpsere. circa lacum

Collision
between his
party and some
of the
Vitellians.

Fundani descenditibus qui Sabinum comitabantur armatis occurrunt promptissimi Vitellianorum. modicum ibi proelium improuiso tumultu, sed prosperum Vitellianis

The former
occupy the
Capitol, and
are invested by
the enemy
with a lax
guard.

fuit. Sabinus re trepida, quod tutissimum e praesentibus, arcem Capitolii insedit mixto milite et quibusdam senatorum equitumque, quorum nomina tradere haud promptum est, quoniam uictore

Vespasiano multi id meritum erga partes simulauere.

subierunt obsidium etiam feminae, inter quas maxime insignis Verulana Gratilla, neque liberos neque propinquos sed bellum secuta. Vitellianus miles socordi custodia clausos circumdedit; eoque concubia nocte suos liberos Sabinus et Domitianum fratris filium in Capitolium acciuit, misso per neglecta ad Flauianos duces nuntio, qui circumsideri ipsos et, ni subueniretur, artas res nuntiaret. noctem adeo quietam egit, ut digredi sine noxa potuerit: quippe miles Vitellii aduersus pericula ferox, laboribus et uigiliis parum intentus erat, et hibernus imber repente fusus oculos auresque impediabat.

70. Luce prima Sabinus, antequam in uicem

Next morning
Sabinus by
messenger
reproaches
Vitellius,

hostilia coeptarent, Cornelium Martialem e primipilaribus ad Vitellium misit cum mandatis et questu, quod pacta turbarentur: *simulationem* prorsus et imaginem

deponendi imperii fuisse ad decipiendos tot inlustres viros. cur enim e rostris fratris domum, imminentem foro et inritandis hominum oculis, quam Auentinum et penates uxoris petisset? ita priuato et omnem principatus speciem uitanti conuenisse. contra Vitellium in Palatium, in ipsam imperii arcem regressum; inde armatum agmen emissum, stratam innocentium caedibus celeberrimam urbis partem, ne Capitolio quidem abstineri. togatum nempe se et unum e senatoribus: dum inter Vespasianum ac Vitellium proeliis legionum, captiuitatibus urbium, deditionibus cohortium iudicatur, iam Hispaniis Germanisque et Britannia desciscentibus, fratrem Vespasiani mansisse in fide, donec ultro ad condiciones uocaretur. pacem et concordiam uictis utilia, uictoribus tantum pulchra esse. si conuentionis paeniteat, non se, quem perfidia deceperit, ferro peteret, non filium Vespasiani uix puberem (quantum occisis uno sene et uno iuvene profici?): iret obuiam legionibus et de summa rerum illic certaret: cetera secundum euentum proelii cessura. trepidus ad haec Vitellius pauca purgandi sui causa respondit, culpam in militem conferens, cuius nimio ardori imparem esse modestiam suam; et monuit Martialem, ut per secretam aedium partem occulte abiret, ne a militibus internuntius inuisae pacis interficeretur: ipse neque iubendi neque uetandi potens non iam imperator, sed tantum belli causa erat.

71. Vixdum regresso in Capitolium Martiale furens miles aderat, nullo duce, sibi quisque auctor.

cito agmine forum et imminetia foro templa prae-
 The Capitol is assaulted teruecti erigunt aciem per aduersum
 collem usque ad primas Capitolinae arcis
 fores. erant antiquitus porticus in latere cliui
 5 dextrae subeuntibus, in quarum tectum egressi saxis
 tegulisque Vitellianos obruebant. neque illis manus
 nisi gladiis armatae, et arcessere tormenta aut mis-
 silia tela longum uidebatur: faces in prominentem
 porticum iecere et sequebantur ignem ambustasque
 10 Capitolii fores penetrassent, ni Sabinus reuulsas
 undique statuas, decora maiorum, in ipso aditu uice
 muri obiecisset. tum diuersos Capitolii aditus inua-
 dunt iuxta lucum asyli et qua Tarpeia rupes centum
 gradibus aditur. improuisa utraque uis; propior at-
 15 que acrior per asylum ingruerat. nec sisti poterant
 scandentes per coniuncta aedificia, quae ut in multa
 pace in altum edita solum Capitolii aequabant.
 and somehow or other set on fire and burned down. hic ambigitur, ignem tectis oppugnatores
 20 iniecerint, an obsessi (quae crebrior
 fama) dum nitentes ac progressos de-
 pellunt. inde lapsus ignis in porticus adpositas
 aedibus; mox sustinentes fastigium aquilae uetere
 ligno traxerunt flammam alueruntque. sic Capi-
 tolium clausis foribus indefensum et indireptum
 25 conflagrauit.

72. Id facinus post conditam urbem luctuo-
 History of the Capitol. sissimum foedissimumque rei publicae
 populi Romani accidit, nullo externo
 hoste, propitiis, si per mores nostros liceret, deis,
 30 sedem Iouis Optimi Maximi auspicato a maioribus
 pignus imperii conditam, quam non Porsenna dedita

urbe neque Galli capta temerare potuissent, furore principum excindi. arserat et ante Capitolium ciuili bello, sed fraude priuata: nunc palam obsessum, palam incensum, quibus armorum causis, quo tantae cladis pretio? stetit, *dum* pro patria bellauimus. 5 uouerat Tarquinius Priscus rex bello Sabino ieceratque fundamenta spe magis futurae magnitudinis, quam quo modicae adhuc populi Romani res sufficerent. mox Seruius Tullius sociorum studio, dein Tarquinius Superbus capta Suessa Pometia hostium 10 spoliis extruxere. sed gloria *patrati* operis libertati reseruata: pulsus regibus Horatius Puluillus iterum consul dedicauit ea magnificentia, quam immensae postea populi Romani opes ornarent potius quam augerent. isdem rursus uestigiis situm est, postquam 15 interiecto quadringentorum quindecim annorum spatio L. Scipione C. Norbano consulibus flagrauerat. curam uictor Sulla suscepit, neque tamen dedicauit: hoc solum felicitati eius negatum. Lutatii Catuli nomen inter *tanta* Caesarum opera usque ad Vitel- 20 lium mansit. ea tunc aedes cremabatur.

73. Sed plus pauoris obsessis quam obsessores intulit. quippe Vitellianus miles neque
 Confusion and flight of the
 defenders. astu neque constantia inter dubia indigebat: ex diuerso trepidi milites, dux 25
 segnis et uelut captus animi non lingua, non auribus competere, neque alienis consiliis regi neque sua expedire, huc illuc clamoribus hostium circumagi, quae iusserat uetare, quae uetuerat iubere: mox, quod in perditis rebus accidit, omnes praecipere, nemo ex- 30
 sequi; postremo abiectis armis fugam et fallendi artes

The besiegers
effect an
entrance: Sa-
binus and the
consul Atticus
are captured.

circumspectabant. inrumpunt Vitelliani
et cuncta sanguine ferro flammisque
miscent. pauci militarium uirorum, inter
quos maxime insignes Cornelius Mar-
5 tialis, Aemilius Pacensis, Casperius Niger,
Didius Scaeuia, pugnam ausi obtruncantur. Flauium
Sabinum inermem neque fugam coeptantem circum-
sistunt et Quintium Atticum consulem, umbra honoris
et suamet uanitate monstratum, quod edicta in po-
10 pulum pro Vespasiano magnifica, probrosa aduersus
Vitellium iecerat. ceteri per uarios casus elapsi,
quidam seruili habitu, alii fide clientium protecti et
inter sarcinas abditi. fuere qui excepto Vitellianorum
signo, quo inter se noscebantur, ultro rogitantes
15 respondentesue audaciam pro latebra haberent.

74. Domitianus prima inruptione apud aedituum

Domitian
finds a hiding
place, and
afterwards
escapes.

occultatus, sollertia liberti lineo amictu
20 turbae sacricolarum immixtus ignora-
tusque, apud Cornelium Primum pater-
num clientem iuxta Velabrum delituit.
ac potente rerum patre, disiecto aeditui contubernio,
modicum sacellum Ioui Conseruatori aramque posuit
casus suos in marmore expressam; mox imperium
adeptus Ioui Custodi templum ingens seque in sinu
dei sacrauit. Sabinus et Atticus onerati
25 Sabinus put
to death. catenis et ad Vitellium ducti nequaquam
infesto sermone uultuque excipiuntur, frementibus
qui ius caedis et praemia nauatae operae petebant.
clamore a proximis orto sordida pars plebis supplicium
30 Sabini exposcit, minas adulationesque miscet. stan-
tem pro gradibus Palatii Vitellium et preces parantem

peruicere, ut absisteret: tum confossum conlaceratumque et absciso capite truncum corpus Sabini in Gemonias trahunt.

75. Hic exitus uiri haud sane spernendi. quin-
 que et triginta stipendia in re publica
 fecerat, domi militiaeque clarus. inno-
 centiam iustitiamque eius non argueres; sermonis
 nimius erat: id unum septem annis quibus Moesiam,
 duodecim quibus praefecturam urbis obtinuit, calum-
 niatus est rumor. in fine uitae alii segnem, multi
 moderatum et ciuium sanguinis parcum credidere.
 quod inter omnis constiterit, ante principatum Ves-
 pasiani decus domus penes Sabinum erat. caedem
 eius laetam fuisse Muciano accepimus. ferebant
 plerique etiam paci consultum dirempta aemulatione
 inter duos, quorum alter se fratrem imperatoris,
 alter consortem imperii cogitaret. sed
 Vitellius consulis supplicium poscenti
 populo restitit, placatus ac uelut uicem
 reddens, quod interrogantibus, quis Capitolium in-
 cendisset, se reum Atticus obtulerat eaque confes-
 sione, siue aptum tempori mendacium fuit, inuidiam
 crimenque agnouisse et a partibus Vitellii amolitus
 uidebatur.

76. Isdem diebus L. Vitellius positus apud
 Feroniam castris excidio Tarracinae
 imminebat, clausis illic gladiatoribus
 remigibusque, qui non egredi moenia
 neque periculum in aperto audebant. praeerat, ut
 supra memorauimus, Iulianus gladiatoribus, Apolli-
 naris remigibus, lasciuia socordiaque gladiatorum

His life and
character.

Atticus pro-
tected by
Vitellius.

L. Vitellius
is watching
Tarracina,

magis quam ducum similes. non uigilias agere, non
 where Iulianus intuta moenium firmare: noctu dieque
 and his com- fluxi et amoena litorum personantes, in
 panions are ministerium luxus dispersis militibus, de
 anything but bello tantum inter conuiuia loquebantur.
 vigilant,

5 paucos ante dies discesserat Apinius Tiro donisque
 ac pecuniis acerbe per municipia conquirendis plus
 inuidiae quam uirium partibus addebat.

77. Interim ad L. Vitellium seruus Verginii

10 and takes it
 by a night
 assault. Capitonis perfugit pollicitusque, si prae-
 sidium acciperet, uacuum arcem tradi-
 turum, multa nocte cohortes expeditas

summis montium iugis super caput hostium sistit:
 inde miles ad caedem magis quam ad pugnam decur-
 15 rit. sternunt inermos aut arma capientes et quosdam
 somno excitos, cum tenebris, pauore, sonitu tubarum,
 clamore hostili turbarentur. pauci gladiatorum
 resistentes neque inulti cecidere: ceteri ad naues
 ruebant, ubi cuncta pari formidine implicabantur,
 20 permixtis paganis, quos nullo discrimine Vitelliani
 trucidabant. sex Liburnicae inter primum tumultum
 euasere, in quis praefectus classis Apollinaris; reli-
 quae in litore captae, aut nimio ruentium onere
 pressas mare hausit. Iulianus ad L. Vitellium per-
 25 ductus et uerberibus foedatus in ore eius iugulatur.
 fuere qui uxorem L. Vitellii Triariam incesserent,
 tamquam gladio militari cincta inter luctum clades-
 que expugnatae Tarracinae superbe saeueque egisset.
 ipse lauream gestae prospere rei ad fratrem misit,
 30 percontatus statim regredi se an perdomandae Cam-
 paniae insistere iuberet. quod salutare non modo

partibus Vespasiani, sed rei publicae fuit. nam si recens uictoria miles et super insitam peruicaciam secundis ferox Romam contendisset, haud parua mole certatum nec sine exitio urbis foret. quippe L. Vitellio quamuis infami inerat industria, nec uirtutibus, ut boni, sed quo modo pessimus quisque, uitiiis ualebat.

78. Dum haec in partibus Vitellii geruntur, digressus Narnia Vespasiani exercitus festos Saturni dies Oriculi per otium 10 agitabat. causa tam prauae morae, ut Mucianum opperirentur. nec defuere qui Antonium suspicionibus arguerent tamquam dolo cunctantem post secretas Vitellii epistulas, quibus consulatum et nubilem 15 filiam et dotaless opes pretium proditiōis offerebat. alii ficta haec et in gratiam Muciani composita; quidam omnium id ducum consilium fuisse, ostentare potius urbi bellum quam inferre (quando ualidis- 20 simae cohortes a Vitellio descuiissent, et abscisis omnibus praesidiis cessurus imperio uidebatur), sed cuncta festinatione, deinde ignauia Sabini corrupta, qui sumptis temere armis munitissimam Capitolii arcem et ne magnis quidem exercitibus expugna- 25 bilem aduersus tris cohortes tueri nequiuisset. haud facile quis uni adsignauerit culpam, quae omnium fuit. nam et Mucianus ambiguiss epistulis uictores morabatur, et Antonius praepostero obsequio, uel dum regerit inuidiam, crimen meruit; ceterique duces, 30 dum peractum bellum putant, finem eius insigniuere. ne Petilius quidem Cerialis, cum mille equitibus

Delay of the
Flavians after
the Narnia
surrender,

by some
attributed in
blame to
Antonius,

by others
regarded as
wise policy
on the part of
the leaders.

praemissus, ut transuersis itineribus per agrum Sabinum Salaria uia urbem introiret, satis maturauerat, donec obsessi Capitolii fama cunctos simul exciret.

79. Antonius per Flaminiam ad Saxa Rubra

5 On hearing of the siege of the Capitol, Antonius advances. Cerialis fights an unsuccessful cavalry engagement close to Rome, multo iam noctis, serum auxilium, uenit. illic interfectum Sabinum, conflagrasse Capitolium, tremere urbem, maesta omnia accepit; plebem quoque et seruitia pro Vitellio armari nuntiabatur. et Petilio Ceriali equestre proelium aduersum fuerat; namque incautum et tamquam ad uictos ruentem Vitelliani, interiectus equiti pedes, excepere. pugnatum haud procul urbe inter aedificia hortosque et anfractus uiarum, quae gnara Vitellianis, inconperta hostibus metum fecerant. neque omnis eques concors, adiunctis quibusdam, qui nuper apud Narniam dediti fortunam partium speculabantur. capitur praefectus alae Iulius Flavianus, ceteri foeda fuga consternantur, non ultra Fidenas secutis uictoribus.

80. Eo successu studia populi aucta; uulgus

which greatly encourages the city mob. The senate however sends ambassadors to the Flavians. Those who met Cerialis narrowly escaped the violence of the troops. 25 urbanum arma cepit. paucis scuta militaria, plures raptis quod cuique obuium telis signum pugnae exposcunt. agit grates Vitellius et ad tuendam urbem prorumpere iubet. mox uocato senatu deliguntur legati ad exercitus, ut praetexto rei publicae concordiam pacemque suaderent. uaria legatorum sors fuit. qui Petilio Ceriali occurrerant, extremum 30 discrimen adiere, aspernante milite condiciones pacis. uulneratur praetor Arulenus Rusticus: auxit inuidiam

super uiolatum legati praetorisque nomen propria dignatio uiri. pulsantur comites, occiditur proximus lictor, dimouere turbam ausus: et ni dato a duce praesidio defensi forent, sacrum etiam *inter* exterarum gentes legatorum ius ante ipsa patriae moenia ciuilis

Antonium rabies usque in exitium temerasset. had better
control of
his men. aequioribus animis accepti sunt qui ad
Antonium uenerant, non quia modestior
miles, sed duci plus auctoritatis.

81. Miscuerat se legatis Musonius Rufus eques-

Musonius' tris ordinis, studium philosophiae et
pedantry
was only
laughed at. placita Stoicorum aemulatus, coepta-
batque, permixtus manipulis, bona pacis
ac belli discrimina disserens, armatos monere. id
plerisque ludibrio, pluribus taedio: nec deerant qui
propellerent proculcarentque, ni admonitu modes-

The Vestal
virgins were
entrusted
with a letter
from Vitellius,
but Antonius
refuses to
have peaceful
dealings with
him. pestiuam sapientiam. obuiaae fuere et
uirgines Vestales cum epistulis Vitellii
ad Antonium scriptis: eximi supremo
certamini unum diem postulabat: si
moram interiecissent, facilius omnia con-
uentura. uirgines cum honore dimissae;
Vitellio rescriptum Sabini caede et in-
cendio Capitolii dirempta belli commercia.

82. Temptauit tamen Antonius uocatas ad

Nevertheless
he tries to
restrain his
troops. But
they insist on
an immediate
attack. contionem legiones mitigare, ut castris
iuxta pontem Muluium positis postera
die urbem ingrederentur. ratio cunc-
tandi, ne asperatus proelio miles non
populo, non senatui, ne templis quidem

ac delubris deorum consuleret. sed omnem prolationem ut inimicam uictoriae suspectabant; simul fulgentia per colles uexilla, quamquam imbellis populus sequeretur, speciem hostilis exercitus fecerant.

- 5 Triple advance of the Flavians. tripertito agmine pars, ut adstiterat, Flaminia uia, pars iuxta ripam Tiberis incessit; tertium agmen per Salariam Collinae portae propinquabat. plebs inuectis equitibus fusa; miles Vitellianus trinis et ipse praesidiis
- 10 Fighting in the city. occurrit. proelia ante urbem multa et uaria, sed Flauianis consilio ducum praestantibus saepius prospera. ii tantum conflictati sunt, qui in partem sinistram urbis ad Sallustianos hortos per angusta et lubrica uiarum flexerant.
- 15 superstantes maceris hortorum Vitelliani ad serum usque diem saxis pilisque subeuntes arcebant, donec ab equitibus, qui porta Collina inruperant, circumuenirentur. concurrere et in campo Martio infestae acies. pro Flauianis fortuna et parta totiens uictoria:
- 20 Vitelliani desperatione sola ruebant, et quamquam pulsi, rursus in urbe congregabantur.

83. Aderat pugnantibus spectator populus, utque in ludicro certamine, hos, rursus illos clamore et plausu fouebat. quotiens pars

- A horrible scene. altera inclinasset, abditos in tabernis aut si quam in domum perfugerant, erui iugularique expostulantes parte maiore praedae potiebantur: nam milite ad sanguinem et caedes obuerso spolia in uulgus cedebant. saeua ac deformis urbe tota facies: alibi
- 30 proelia et uulnera, alibi balineae popinaeque; simul cruor et strues corporum, iuxta scorta et scortis

similes; quantum in luxurioso otio libidinum, quidquid in acerbissima captiuitate scelerum, prorsus ut eandem ciuitatem et furere crederes et lasciuire. conflixerant *et* ante armati exercitus in urbe, bis Lucio Sulla, semel *L. Cinna* uictoribus, nec tunc 5 minus crudelitatis: nunc inhumana securitas et ne minimo quidem temporis uoluptates intermissae: uelut festis diebus id quoque gaudium accederet, exultabant, fruebantur, nulla partium cura, malis publicis laeti.

10

84. Plurimum molis in oppugnatione castrorum fuit, quae acerrimus quisque nouissimam
The capture of the Praetorian camp. spem retinebant. eo intentius uictores, praecipuo ueterum cohortium studio, cuncta ualidissimarum urbium excidiis reperta simul 15 admouent, testudinem tormenta aggerem facesque, quidquid tot proeliis laboris ac periculi hausissent opere illo consummari clamitantes. urbem senatui ac populo Romano, templa dis reddita: proprium esse militis decus in castris: illam patriam, illos 20 penates. ni statim recipiantur, noctem in armis agendam. contra Vitelliani, quamquam numero fatoque dispare, inquietare uictoriam, morari pacem, domos arasque cruore foedare: suprema uictis solacia amplectebantur. multi semianimes super turres et 25 propugnacula moenium exspirauere: conuulsis portis reliquus globus obtulit se uictoribus, et cecidere omnes contrariis uulneribus, uersi in hostem: ea cura etiam morientibus decori exitus fuit.

Vitellius capta urbe per auersam Palatii partem 30 Auentinum in domum uxoris sellula defertur, ut

si diem latebra uitauisset, Tarracinam ad cohortes
 Vitellius flees
 from the
 Palatine, then
 returns and
 is discovered
 5 in hiding.
 fratremque perfugeret. dein mobilitate
 ingenii et, quae natura pauoris est, cum
 omnia metuenti praesentia maxime dis-
 plicerent, in Palatium regreditur uastum
 desertumque, dilapsis etiam infimis ser-
 uitiorum aut occursum eius declinantibus. terret
 solitudo et tacentes loci, temptat clausa, inhorrescit
 uacuis, fessusque misero errore et pudenda latebra
 10 semet occultans ab Iulio Placido tribuno cohortis
 protrahitur. uinctae pone tergum manus; laniata
 ueste, foedum spectaculum, ducebatur, multis in-
 crepantibus, nullo inlacrimante: deformitas exitus
 misericordiam abstulerat. obuius e Germanicis mili-
 15 tibus Vitellium infesto ictu per iram, uel quo ma-
 turius ludibrio eximeret, an tribunum adpetierit, in
 incerto fuit: aurem tribuni amputauit ac statim
 confossus est.

85. Vitellium infestis mucronibus coactum modo
 20 His death. erigere os et offerre contumeliis, nunc
 cadentes statuas suas, plerumque rostra
 aut Galbae occisi locum contueri, postremo ad Gemo-
 nias, ubi corpus Flauii Sabini iacuerat, propulere.
 una uox non degeneris animi excepta, cum tribuno
 25 insultanti se tamen imperatorem eius fuisse respondit;
 ac deinde ingestis uulneribus concidit. et uulgus
 eadem prauitate insectabatur interfectum, qua foue-
 rat uiuentem.

86. Patria illi Luceria: septimum et quinqu-
 30 gensimum aetatis annum explebat, consulatum, sacer-
 dotia, nomen locumque inter primores nulla sua

industria, sed cuncta patris claritudine adeptus.
 Life and principatum ei detulere qui ipsum non
 character of nouerant: studia exercitus raro cuiquam
 Vitellius. bonis artibus quaesita perinde adfuere
 quam huic per ignauiam. inerat tamen simplicitas 5
 ac liberalitas, quae, ni adsit modus, in exitium uer-
 tuntur. amicitias dum magnitudine munerum, non
 constantia morum contineri putat, meruit magis
 quam habuit. rei publicae haud dubie intererat
 Vitellium uinci, sed imputare perfidiam non possunt 10
 qui Vitellium Vespasiano prodidere, cum a Galba
 descuiissent.

Praecipiti in occasum die ob pauorem magis-
 Domitian is tratuum senatorumque, qui dilapsi ex
 escorted to urbe aut per domos clientium semet 15
 his father's occultabant, uocari senatus non potuit.
 house by Domitianum, postquam nihil hostile me-
 the troops. tuebatur, ad duces partium progressum et Caesarem
 consalutatam miles frequens utque erat in armis in
 paternos penates deduxit.

NOTES.

A. = *Annals*.

Br. = *Arnold's Latin Prose Composition*, ed. Bradley.

Roman numerals represent books of the *Histories*. References to this book are given by chapter and line.

Page 1.

CHAPTER 1.

1. *fato*] For the frequent allusions to the *fortuna* or *fatum* of the two sides see on 64. 17.

fide] Tac. is thinking of the treachery of Caecina and Bassus (Intr. p. xxi).

5. *Pannoniae*] genitive.

7. *constantius foret*] 'was bolder,' for 'was likely to give a greater impression of their resoluteness.'

9. *Germanicarum*] i.e. of Vitellius : Intr. p. xx.

10. *aduenisse*] depends on a verb of saying evolved from *ex-tollebant*, a construction particularly common in writers who aim at brevity (e.g. Sallust) : cp. 13. 12.

cum Vitellio] Intr. p. xx.

11. *nec*] followed here by *et*, not another *nec*. In Latin it is possible to prepare the way thus for a subsequent clause even when that clause is not to be negative. We can only say 'In the first place they had not...and in the second, the conquered had less spirit....' The same usage in 16. 13, 50. 18, 61. 29, 63. 1.

12. *nuper*] at Bedriacum (Intr. p. xix). Dalmatia had now only one legion, as the 14th had not been allowed to return there

(l.c. p. xvi). The speaker seems to forget that only *detachments* of the Danube legions fought in the battle (l.c. p. xviii, n. 5).

legionum] The gen. after *par* is rare, and not to be imitated. *et quamquam* etc.] probably meant generally: 'however boldly beaten troops talk, they really have less spirit (than before their beating).'

14. *insestis Alpibus*] conditional abl. abs., 'if they occupied.'

15. *superesse*] 'were still left,' even when Mucianus had gone.

16. *uelut...cieret*] 'raise an army sufficient almost for a second war.' *Velut* simply tones down the expression *alt. belli molem*.

molem] 15. 26, 46. 18.

17. *salubri*] emphatic: 'which could not but be advantageous.'

Page 2.

CHAPTER 2.

1. *Antonius*] Intr. p. xxi.

6. *hospitibus*] the people on whom they were billeted. Their leaders set a bad example: see what Tac. says of Valens 41. 12.

7. *quanto* etc.] 'with a delight all the greater because of the rough life they had lived before': cp. A. 4. 46 *sine cultu atque eo ferocius agitabant*. For *quanto*—*tanto* cp. 18. 27, Br. 497 (a).

egerint] Sallust uses *agere* absolutely, first in the meaning *agere uitam*, then in a weakened one equivalent to *esse*. Later writers, and particularly Tac., follow the example: cp. 21. 18, 34. 5, 42. 11, 44. 15 (joined with an adjective, so already in Sall.), 49. 13, 57. 16.

8. *hausisse*] 'drunk the cup of...', a metaphorical use found in Cicero. Ant. is not exaggerating, if we may trust Tac.'s account in II 93: 'The troops moved about the city, deserting the barracks and neglecting sentry duty, weakening the vigour of body and mind in the enjoyment of all the attractions of the capital and every kind of vice.' Curiously enough these were the very men who had taunted the Othonians as *circo ac theatris corruptus miles* (ib. 21).

9. **amoenitate]** 'attractions.' *Amoenus* is used of sea-side places, spas and the like (*a. secessus* Iuv. 3. 4, Tac. A. 14. 62; *locus amoeno salubrium aquarum usu frequens* 1 67), carrying no doubt not merely the idea of pleasant scenery but also that of the *dolce far niente* life of such spots. Pleasure gardens may be meant, for Seruius explains *amoena loca* as *loca solius uoluptatis plena*.

10. **et]** 'even.'

meditatione] 'preparation': iv 26 *struenda acie muniendo uallandoque et ceteris belli meditamentis* shows what is meant, and cp. 36. 4 *exercitio militem firmare*.

11. **uires]** sc. *essent*.

12. **freto]** 'only by a strait': so 9. 4, 82. 3.

Gallias Hispaniasque] plural, as each contained subdivisions (4 and 3 respectively) which had their own governors and were reckoned as separate provinces.

13. **ipsamque Italiam]** sc. *sibi esse*, 'was at their disposal.' With the other accusatives (*uiros* etc.) only *esse* must be supplied.

14. **duas]** Intr. p. xxi, note 6.

uacuum] 'unguarded,' as in 47. 10.

17. **quin...uterentur]** 'why not use...?' The subj. (as in 66. 7) is simply that of an interrogation in Or. Obl. For Or. Rect. see 20. 8.

18. **deceptae]** by the unfortunate incident at the beginning of the engagement (Intr. p. xix), or by the treachery of their officers (ib. n. 2). The same choice of explanations at ii 44 *non uirtute se sed proditione uictum*.

20. **integras]** 'fresh,' 'with prestige undimmed,' not having taken any part in the battle (Intr. p. xix, n. 5).

si numerus etc.] i.e. Vit. may have more legions, but they are not as fully manned as ours. The greatest number of legions the Flavians could have would be 6 (Dalmatia 1, Pannonia 2, Moesia 3). Vitellius had 8 (7 from Germany and the prima Italica which had joined Valens in S. Gaul), besides the troops from Britain (Intr. p. xx). But from ii 89, 100 it seems likely that four of the German legions were only represented now by *detachments*. Antonius had 40,000 men left after the fighting at Cremona (33. 12).

21. *putetur*] 'taken into account,' a very old meaning of the word, for which classical writers regularly used *computare*. Tac. is rather given to the use of simple vbs. for compounds: cp. 21. 21 (*sistere*), 26. 16 (*pensare*), 34. 6 (*ruere*), 47. 3 (*temnere*).

23. *pudorem*] at having been beaten.

equites ne tum quidem uictos] refers to the cavalry engagement with which the battle began (Intr. p. xix).

24. *quamquam*] The addition of this particle to explain the force of an abl. abs. or ptc. (cp. the use of *καίπερ, πέρ*) is distinctly silver. Cp. 11. 7, 65. 5, 82. 20.

25. *alae*] 'squadrons': Note, p. 149.

27. *pulsu*] 'rush.'

nube] either 'numbers' (a not uncommon force of the word in poetry and silver prose) or 'cloud of dust.'

superfundent] merely repeats *operient*. The vb. generally means 'to pour something (acc.) on someone (dat.).' Hence it gets the force of 'to cover,' taking acc. of the object covered, the abl. of the covering. And finally, as here, this abl. is dropped altogether. This 'inverted' constr. is rare in the case of this particular vb., though common (esp. in poetry) with *suffundere*. Cp. 56. 17 (*obtendere*).

28. *oblitos proeliorum*] a poetic phrase, recalling Homer's *λήθεσθαι* and *μνήσασθαι χάρις*. Cp. Stat. Th. 12. 8 *meminit belli*.

equites equosque] in this order again 18. 31, where the expl. which might be hazarded here (avoidance of hexametrical ending *equos equitesque*) is inadmissible.

29. *quis*] doubtless meant for the governor of Pannonia.

retinet] This use of the pres., as in English, in future conditionals is occasionally found in all periods of Latin: it seems to have been a popular idiom: cp. 24. 29. Do not imitate, but follow Br. 190.

auctor] 'the one to carry out,' a rare meaning of the word.

30. *in integro*] His had already received a blow by his conviction for forgery (Intr. p. xxi). For similar prepositional phrases see 13. 12 (*in arto*), 32. 5 (*in obscuro*), 56. 31 and 76. 29 (*in aperto*), 84. 16 (*in incerto*).

31. *cohortes*] 'auxiliary infantry': Note, p. 149.

Page 3.

1. *impulsas*] 'given a decisive blow.'

2. *uincētis*] *sc. mei*: we should say 'my victorious steps.'

CHAPTER 3.

7. *uulgu* et *ceteri*] is probably tautological and simply means 'the rest' or 'the masses,' as certainly in 125 where *primores militum* are contrasted with *uulgu* et *ceteri*. Here *ceteri* might denote a third class, those who were neither *cauti* nor *uulgu*.

unum uirum] 'as the only real man.' This use of *unus* is commonest with superlatives: cp. however Hor. sat. 2. 6. 57, 58 *me mirantur ut unum | scilicet egregii mortalem altique silenti*, 'a man gifted with the power of holding his tongue as no one else is.'

8. *sui*] would be *de se* in Cic. The silver writers use this case of the word rather freely: cp. 34. 2 *primordio sui* and Sen. uit. beat. 9 *uirtus ipsa pretium sui* (*suo* and *suum* in the best Latin).

9. *ea*] not mentioned by Tac. in 11.

10. *epistulis*] The pl. of this word is used in silver Latin of a single despatch or letter, on the analogy of *litterae*.

11. *tracturus*] In silver Latin (first common in Livy) the fut. ptc. is freely used with the idea of purpose (so 48. 9) or readiness for action. Often it represents the apodosis of a conditional, and so probably here: cp. 54. 2 *si liceret, uere narraturi*, 56. 4. But in 19. 15 *rupturi ni ducantur* it would make nonsense to tr. 'they would break all bonds unless they were led' (for they were not led) and we must say 'they were ready to break....'

12. *interpretationem*] 'Vague words the meaning of which he would have strained' seems to me a simpler way of putting the matter than if he had written the ablative (i.e. 'vague words which he would have explained away,' lit. 'forced by explanation'). And the acc. happens to be the ms. reading.

protus conduxisset] 'according as expediency required,' is really protasis to *tracturus*. The subj. however is that of virtual Or.

Obl.: he would say to himself 'I'll twist it *prout conduxerit*' (fut. pf.). The *tense* is of course settled by *disseruit* (Br. 471).

13. *gravior*] 'of greater influence.'

14. *socius*] in causal apposition.

CHAPTER 4.

15. *procuratoris*] In the imperial provinces (i.e. those which were under the Emperor's charge and governed by his nominee, as here Pannonia) the procurator seems to have attended to all financial matters. Even in the senatorial provinces procurators are found (43. 17): here they only managed business relating to the *fiscus* (Emperor's privy purse), the quaestors having control of all other finance. Procurators belonged always to the second order of nobility (*ordo equestris*): for another use of them see on 5. 12. Fuscus was probably pr. of Pannonia.

16. *quoque*] like Antonius.

17. *inter*] 'in case of.'

18. *Tampius Flavianus*] gov. of Pannonia (hence *legati* in l. 25).

19. *suspiciones...tamquam...meminisset*] The silver writers use *tamquam* with vbs. or phrases denoting accusation, suspicion etc., to introduce the clause which explains the nature of the charge, suspicion etc. The subj. is of course merely that which follows the word in its ordinary meaning 'as if.' Cp. 32. 10, 35. 31, 65. 31, 77. 27. In 78. 14 it is used with a ptc.

20. *adfinitatis*] Nothing is known of the relationship here referred to.

21. *coeptante*] The intr. use is rare and not to be imitated.

22. *sponte*] in the best prose always takes the possessive adj., but in poetry and silver prose is often used absolutely, as here, or with a genitive (as in 16. 13).

25. *rerum nouarum*] almost 'fishing in troubled waters.'

26. *resumere...impulerat*] The inf., common enough in poetry, occurs in prose in Livy first.

28. *cum maxime*] This curious phrase is found occasionally in e.g. Cic. and Livy in the sense 'at this very moment' or 'now more than ever': cp. Liu. 29. 17 *omnia passi sumus et c. m.*

patimur. Sometimes we find it joined to *nunc*, and probably this was the earlier form, the expr. being elliptical and the meaning in the Livy passage for instance being *et nunc patimur cum maxime patimur*. Seneca the younger is fond of the phrase, using it especially with inceptives: sometimes it seems to give inceptive force to a vb., as in ep. 13. 17 *senes qui se c. m. ad ambitionem parent*. *Quid turpius quam senex uiuere incipiens?* Tr. 'just.'

29. *honesta specie praetenderetur*] 'might be made to protect...and give it a good external appearance': cp. A. 14. 21 *honesta nomina praetendebant*, 'used fair words to cloak (their vices).' The abl. is that of attendant circumstances.

CHAPTER 5.

31. *impune et usui*] a good ex. of variety. 'Safe and profitable' is all our poorer tongue allows us.

Aponio Saturnino] gov. of Moesia.

Page 4.

1. *celeraret*] dependent jussive: cp. the subj. by which commands are rendered in Or. Obl.

2. *exponerentur*] a silver meaning of the word: in Cic. *obicerentur*.

3. *Iazygum*] They lived E. of Pannonia, divided from it by the great northern sweep of the Danube.

4. *commilitium*] really as hostages for the good behaviour of their subjects.

5. *et uim equitum*] simply explains *plebem*: cp. 10. 19.

7. *externa*] 'a stroke for their own nation': cp. 1 2 *tria bella ciuilia, plura externa ac plerumque permixta* and what we read in 45—48 below, esp. the action of Ciuilis, whom the Romans command (iv 32) *ne externa armis falsis uelaret* 'not to try and hide the real character of his plans by pretending to fight for Vespasian.' So in a war on our Indian frontier it might be feared that our native 'allies' might seize the opportunity to strike a blow for their independence.

8. *ex diuerso*] lit. 'on the other side': see 13. 24, 73. 25.

mercede] causal, 'influenced by...pay.'

exuerent] 'lay aside all regard for,' 'set at defiance.' Even Cic. uses the vb. metaphorically, but the poets and silver writers go much further. Tac. uses it with *promissa*, *pacta*, *fidem*, *uirtutes*: cp. 42. 13.

9. **Sueborum]** They represent Bohemia and Moravia, and formed a 'buffer state' between Rome and Germany.

10. **quis]** probably refers to the Kings.

11. **fidei quam iussorum patientior]** 'readier to be a loyal ally than to take orders': they could be relied on if recognised as allies, but might be restive if treated with a high hand.

12. **infesta Raetia]** causal abl.

procurator] Small provinces, or those where for political reasons the Emperor did not care to post a regular governor (i.e. one of senatorial rank), were administered by officials belonging to the equestrian class, called procurators: cp. 42. 12. Pontius Pilate was pr. of Judaea.

14. **Auriana]** Note, p. 150.

15. **iuuentute]** No doubt F. received powers to levy troops from the men of military age (*iuuenes*) in the province.

18. **alibi transacta]** 'was settled elsewhere,' i.e. at Cremona: cp. 46. 22 *Cremonae interim transeginus*.

CHAPTER 6.

19. **uexillarios]** 'detachments': Note, p. 150.
cohortibus] 2. 31.

22. **Corbulo]** the famous general of Claudius and Nero. His Armenian campaign dealt the Parthian power a deadly blow: his reward was the order for his death. 'Well deserved!' he cried, and at once stabbed himself to the heart. Domitian married his daughter.

23. **Armenia]** C. forced the King (set up there by his brother the King of Parthia) to declare himself Rome's vassal.

25. **unde]** with *adepto*.

primum pilum] the post of chief centurion in a legion or praetorian cohort: Note, p. 149.

26. **adepto]** dat. *incommodi* with *uertere*: 'though he was made chief centurion, what seemed for the moment success, won

as it was by base means, presently became....' *Male parta* is in a curious kind of causal apposition, having the force of 'as is the way with, as might be expected of ill gotten gains.' *Male parta male dilabuntur* was a proverb in Cicero's time.

27. *perniciem*] After becoming prefect of the praetorians he was superseded (IV 68). But Tac. must mean something more serious than this. Domitian's wife (see on l. 22 above) may have found means to punish his treachery to her father: she was, we know, a woman of strong character.

uertere] intr., with the meaning 'change' (esp. in the form *u. in* 'to become'), occurs in Sallust, is not uncommon in Livy and the poets, and is a favourite with Tac. So 47. 31, 58. 14: cp. *flectere* 41. 26.

sed] as often, after digression, resumes. So 57. 8, 75. 17.

Page 5.

1. *defectione*] 12. 20 sqq.

3. *cohortes et alam*] Note, p. 149.

Sebosianae] for the dative see Br. 261.

5. *id*] the fact of their being *incuriosi*.

CHAPTER 7.

10. *principia...data*] 'the verdict of the first battle was in favour of the F.,' a legal metaphor. The judge deciding a suit in favour of one party was said *dare litem secundum illum*. Cp. Caes. B. C. 2 32 (and Tac.) *belli praeiudicia*, where the meaning is that the result of one war, like the result of one trial, may help us to forecast the issue of another.

11. *legiones*] both belonged to Pannonia, the seventh being that of which Antonius was commandant. For the surnames see Note, p. 148.

15. *praefectus castrorum*] Note, p. 149.

quila imperitabat] explains *irae*.

adductius] metaphor from tightening reins.

16. *bello*] abl., *imperitundum erat* having to be supplied. For the brevity cp. 40. 26, 53. 4, for the sense II 29 *ciuilibus bellis plus militibus quam ducibus licere*.

18. *interpretatione gloriae*] 'the construction put on it and the ostentation with which it was done.'

19. *in maius*] 'as of more importance than it really was,' lit. 'in a way tending to exaggeration': cp. 8. 28, 38. 17, and 13. 14 (*in deterius*). Do not tr. *postquam*, but start a fresh sentence, explanatory of what precedes.

21. *recoll*] 'set up and honoured anew.'

22. *si placere...crederentur*] 'if the impression was got that G.'s régime met with (the party's) approval, and that it was really his party that was being restored.' Those who would not support Vespasian on his own merits might do so if he posed as champion of Galba. Cf. the way in which, after Vitellius' victory, Rome did honour to Galba's statues as a compliment to the new Emperor (II 55).

CHAPTER 8.

25. *patentibus*] with *ad*: 'lay open conveniently for....'

28. *in rem famamque*] 'likely to be profitable and add to their glory.' Sallust has *in rem esse* (Cat. 20 etc.): *in* as in 7. 18.

29. *transitu*] 'passing': *ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ*.

30. *locum obtinuit*] lit. 'held the position,' 'became a matter.'

31. *reputantibus*] 'in the eyes of those who reflected,' dat. of the person judging.

Page 6.

1. *patriam*] 'native town.'

2. *pretium*] as opposed to the merely sentimental, moral advantage attaching to the capture of Vicetia.

3. *Iulias Alpes*] the Brenner pass, the natural route for the troops expected (15. 23) from Germany by way of Rhaetia.

4. *perulum*] a noun: so *avium* (Herenn. 4. 21. 29), *inuium* (Sen. Const. Sap. 1).

illa] the demonstrative corresponding to (the much commoner) *qua*.

5. *ignara*] passive, as often in Sall. (not Cic.) and Tac.: cp. 79. 14.

aut] 'or even.'

8. **consilium**] 'statement of his policy,' i.e. more than the bare command. Cp. II 40: *ubi consiliis uincerentur ad ius imperii transibant*, 'when they found their arguments insufficient, they had recourse to their superior power.'

9. **claustra annonae**] The main advantage in holding Egypt was that one got control of the corn supply (see on 48. 7), and one would therefore expect that Tac. having once mentioned that country would simply add, in apposition, 'the key to the corn supply' (for *claustra*, cp. 43. 22). *Claustra* however is here clearly not in apposition, but the second of the three subjects to *to obtinerentur*.

13. **uictoriam**] briefly for *spem uictoriae*.

14. **praetexendo**] This abl. of the gerund (attendant circumstances) is quite equivalent to a pres. ptc. (cp. 54. 6, 61. 27): 'alleging.'

sed] 'but *in reality*,' for which Tac. generally uses *ceterum*.

16. **post res**] i.e. after the events to which they referred were settled.

CHAPTER 9.

24. **duae**] 7. 11.

25. **potuere**] for the mood see Br. 461: contrast *consciuis-sent*.

27. **tempora**] 'opportunities.'

31. **aduenit**] from Moesia.

tribunus] Note, p. 149. The commandant (*legatus*) on discovering that Aponius had designs against his life had fled to Vespasian (II 85).

Vipstanus Messalla] a descendant of the famous orator of Augustus' reign, Val. Messalla, and one of Tac.'s authorities in this war (see 25. 16, 28. 7). He is one of the speakers in Tacitus' *Dialogus*.

Page 7.

2. **ad bellum...attulisset**] 'had come to the war with...': cp. 38. 30, 41. 21.

4. *tres*] 'only three': see on 2. 12.

6. *tractantium*] We should say 'in taking up': cp. Br. 414.

8. *uulgari*] 'commonplace,' 'in general terms.'

9. *prorsus*] probably means 'in short,' a force apparently confined to Sallust and Tac.: certainly this is its force in 83. 2. Here it *may* qualify *nihil* and mean 'absolutely.'

10. *corrumperet*] 'seduce.'

11. *Flavianarum...hortabantur*] This sentence corresponds, closely, though not in monotonous regularity, with the preceding one: the only difficulty is to feel sure what answers to Caecina's praise of his German légions. The other contrasts may be tabulated thus:

Caecina	Flavians
1. <i>twits his foes with previous failure</i> (<i>temeritatem—incusans</i>),	refuse to reopen the matter (<i>omissa—defensione</i>),
2. <i>has no good to say of his emperor</i> (<i>Vitellii—mentione</i>),	are proud of their emperor (<i>pro V. magnifice</i>),
3. <i>is careful not to offend Vespasian</i> (<i>nulla—contumelia</i>),	do not spare Vitellius (<i>in Vit...praesumpser</i>),
4. <i>and does not attempt to change the enemy's resolution</i> (<i>nihil—terrere</i>).	and try to win over Caecina and his officers (<i>facta—hortabantur</i>).

The contrast to *uirtus Germanici exercitus...attollebatur* then is given in two clauses, *pro causa fidenter, de exitu securi*: the Flavians felt that they were in the right and were confident of victory.

12. *magnifice*] 'in terms of high praise': cp. 32. 23, 73. 10.

causa...exitu] Sen. H. F. 407 *quaeritur belli exitus | non causa*, 'the result of the war is the main thing, not which combatant has the better cause,' and Ou. M. 8. 59 *causaque ualet causamque tenentibus armis*.

13. *in V. ut inimici praesumpser*] 'took the initiative in

attacking V. with the tone of personal enmity.' But how *praesumere* acquires this absolute force (like *προλαμβάνειν*) is not clear. As it is not until a much later period that it becomes a mere equivalent of *audere*, we must suppose that Tac. meant us to supply an object (*probra*) from the sense of *ut inimici*.

14. *facta...spe*] 'holding out hopes that they would be allowed to keep whatever privileges V. had granted them.' The subj. *indulisset* is of course that of virtual Or. Obl.

20. *scripsissent*] subj. of virtual Or. Obl.: 'they saw they had written.'

CHAPTER 10.

21. *duarum*] the two remaining Moesian legions.

24. *circumdare*] 'put in a state of defence.'

25. *adversa*] facing the enemy's position on the Ticinus.

26. *cesserat*] 'had fallen to the lot of,' a use of the word found at least once in Cic., several times in Livy and the poets, and often in Tac.: cp. 83. 28.

28. *proditionis*] Intr. p. xix, n. 2. Tac. says with some severity in ref. to a similar case (II 44) *desertorem proditoremque increpant, nullo proprio crimine eius, sed more uulgi suum quisque flagitium aliis obiectantes*.

31. *turbine quodam*] 'a very storm of anger.'

Page 8.

2. *donatiui*] presumably the one offered by Vespasian (as by Nero: Intr. p. xvii). We know it was a small sum (II 82); perhaps F. was made the scapegoat for this.

3. *quamquam*] with subj., as often in silver Latin: 22. 8, 59. 19, 82. 3.

4. *pectus atque ora*] 'his whole body': cp. Verg. A. 5. 199 *anhelitus artus | aridaque ora quatit*.

11. *crudescere*] The hist. inf. in dependent clauses occurs first in Sallust. Even Vergil has one ex. (A. 11. 822 *quicum partiri curas*). Here (as always in Tac. after *ubi*) it is combined with the finite *transibant*, so that the craving for variety is satisfied: cp. 31. 9 (after *ut*).

13. *iudibrium*] 'that they were only being played with': the arrest was only made to save him from their violence. The farce was common enough in the times of bad discipline: cp. e.g. 1. 58 *apud saeuientes* (troops who want to kill an objectionable officer) *ignoscere non nisi fallendo licebat: ita in custodia habitus est etc.*

15. *stricto ferro*] dat. after *opposuit*. Whether it was his men's swords that he flung himself before, or his own sword that he put to his breast, is not clear, but I prefer the first interpretation. We find elsewhere generals threatening suicide in the presence of mutinous troops: so Germanicus, for instance (one of the mutineers however offered him his own sword as being sharper!). But to hold a sword to one's breast and say 'I'll die by your swords or mine' would surely be too grotesque. A. got between Flavianus and his men, saying, 'You'll have to kill me before you can touch him—and if you do manage by some trick to get hold of him without killing me, I shall kill myself.'

17. *ut quemque*] 'whenever...anyone,' lit. 'according as... each': 14. 4.

19. *bellorum deos*] probably explains *signa* (cp. for *et* 5. 5). So A. 1. 39 a man seeks sanctuary with the *signa et aquilas*, A. 2. 17 eagles are called *propria legionum numina*, and in Cic. Cat. 1. 9. 24 Catiline keeps the silver eagle in a *sacrarium*.

hostium potius exercitibus etc.] Verg. G. 3. 513 *di meliora piis erroremque hostibus illum*. The idea of diverting evil from oneself on one's foes by means of prayer is a common one in Latin, however.

23. *obuiis litteris discrimini exemptus*] a mysterious sentence. What was the nature of V.'s despatch? If it called Fl. to the emperor's presence, the troops would probably refrain from attacking him (cp. 7. 16). But it met him *on his way*, and once he got out of camp the men were not likely to pursue him, any more than they did Saturninus (11. 10). What one expects to hear is that he made some excuse for leaving camp, something like *tamquam obuiam iturus Vespasiani litteris*, 'pretending he was going out to meet a messenger whom he was expecting from V.' This too would get over another difficulty: how was it a letter from V. came at so opportune a moment?

CHAPTER 11.

25. *uelut tabe*] Elsewhere (e.g. 1 26) he boldly extends the simile to a metaphor.

26. *Moesici exercitus legatum*] an unusual, but quite intelligible, form of expression for the governor of the province, who was of course commander-in-chief of the army quartered there.

28. *medio diei*] common in Livy and Tac., where Cic. would write *medio die*: cp. 47. 5 *extremo orae*, 79. 5 *multo noctis*, 83. 7 *minimo temporis*, 29. 25 *summa ualli* (47. 15 *summa navium*), 46. 12 *prima rerum*. Generally speaking poetry and silver prose (including here Sallust) affect the use of the neuter adj. as a noun: see on 2. 30, 29. 25, 64. 23 and cp. *peruium* 8. 4, *plano* 19. 7, *uicino* 38. 13.

30. *scripsisse credebatur*] He certainly had written to inform Vitellius of the revolt of the 3rd legion, with which the rising of the Danube troops began (11 96).

31. *modestiae*] in citizens denotes a law-abiding disposition; in soldiers it means obedience to discipline: Liu. 28. 24 contrasts it with action which he stigmatises as *procaz*.

Page 9.

3. *ultionem*] upon their *legatus* Flavianus.

4. *uelut*] for *uelut si*, as in 83. 8: do not imitate.

absoluerentur] The greater the number of mutineers, the better their cause must seem: cp. A. 14. 14 *ratus dedecus molliri si plures foedasset*. *Seditione* is of course instrumental.

5. *iterare gaudebant*] The infin. with this vb. is poetic: in prose we first meet it in Quintilian.

9. *uacantium*] 'not in use,' a bold extension of the meaning 'have leisure' 'be unemployed' from persons to things: cp. Sen. Phaedr. 103 *Palladis telae uacant*.

10. *lictoribus*] He would have five.

11. *consularium*] The governors of imperial provinces, as deputies (*legati*) of the Emperor, who ruled his provinces by virtue of proconsular power, had to be content with the title *pro praetore*. As a matter of fact many of them had already held the consulship,

and so are often distinguished from the rest by the title 'consular legates': cp. 50. 5. Sat. was consul in 66 A.D.

16. *frueretur*] 'reap the benefit of.' The suggestion was founded on the man's character: see Tac.'s account of it, *Intr.* p. xxi.

CHAPTER 12.

18. *discordia*] abl. of circumstance, *suspicionibus* being instrumental. Here the difference was of a more fatal character: they were troubled...?

20. *Bassus*] *Intr.* p. xxi.

23. *Vespasiano*] 'for V.'

25. *principia*] part of the *uia principalis* which ran, 100 feet wide, right across a Roman camp. It was evidently close to the *praetorium* (commandant's quarters), as we often meet the phrase in *principiis et praetorio*. The standards and images of the Emperor were kept there.

26. *quisnam exitus foret*] depends on *metu*.

29. *uulgus rerum nouarum studio*] a Sallustian expression: cp. e.g. C. 37. 1 *plebs n. r. st.*, J. 66. 2 *uulgus uti solet cupidum n. r.*

Page 10.

2. *Liburnicis*] light cruisers, so named from their resemblance to the piratical 'schooners' of the Liburnian and other Illyrian tribes.

praefecto alae] Note, p. 149.

5. *Hormi*] 28. 7.

Caesaris] means Vespasian and anticipates: see 86. 18.

is quoque] From Claudius' time onward Rome had become familiar with the phenomenon of powerful freedmen. Under Trajan it seems regarded as a thing of the past. Thus Pliny the younger quotes (Ep. 8. 6) a long decree of the senate voting honours to the famous *libertus* Pallas: after ridiculing its details he concludes with the remark '*quam iuuat quod in tempora illa non incidi!*' In Pan. 88 he says to the Emperor '*his (libertis) abunde sufficere credis si probi et frugi existimantur*'—quite the old republican view.

CHAPTER 13.

9. *secretum castrorum adfectans*] 'pretending he had secret business to discuss with regard to the army.' For the meaning of *castrorum* cp. 31. 29 *primores castrorum*, for the genitive 14 *arcana imperii*, A. 2. 59 *arcana dominationis*. [The rendering 'seeking a time when the camp was quiet' is, I believe, an outrage on the Latin tongue. The only other possible meaning of the phrase would be 'seeking a quiet part of the camp,' but as the rest of the troops were busy at work there was no need to select his place so carefully.]

10. *adfectans*] from the meaning 'aim at' 'affect' would easily gain that given it above. The use in A. 14. 16 *carminum studium adfectavit* is very similar.

12. *transfugisse*] for constr. see on 1. 10. Here the evolved verb governs *omnia* in l. 14 as well as the acc. and inf.

13. *aduersas*] Tac. says in 11 97 that Vit. got no help from Spain, and in 42. 14 we find Narbonese Gaul supporting Vespasian. It was not however until after the fall of Cremona that Spain and the rest of Gaul definitely came over to that Emperor (44. 9).

17. *imagines*] see on 12. 25.

19. *praescriptum*] 'written up,' on the *uexilla*: cp. Suet. Vesp. 6 *nomen eius uexillis omnibus inscripserunt*, Sen. Phoen. 400 *nomen ducum uexilla praescriptum ferunt*.

21. *uastum*] 'as of a desert': cp. Luc. 5. 508 *uasta silentia*. That it is not simply equivalent to *ingens* is shewn by A. 3. 4 *dies per silentium uastus*.

26. *primanos quartadecumanosque*] Intr. p. xx.

27. *ut*] The idiomatic use in indignant questions, as in Cic. Cat. 1. 9. 22 *te ut ulla res frangat*.

28. *exuli*] Intr. p. xxi.

29. *octo*] 2. 20 n.

30. *accessionem fore*] 'would follow the lead of, go with.' *Accessio* denotes in the market something thrown in with the main purchase, and so acquires the force of something subordinate, of secondary importance. Thus Livy calls the war with Syphax *accessio*, 'appendage' of the Punic war (45. 7), Seneca speaking of

the absorption of small states by a more powerful one says *in accessionem ualidioris (gentis) conuersis* (Helu. 6). In Greek, ἐπιθήκη and πάρεργον have like force.

31. *postquam...auferre*] explains *id.* In II 92 Tac. says Caecina and Valens took advantage of Vitellius' weakness and *inuaserant domos hortos opesque imperii*. [The reading is very uncertain: that of the ms. is *etiam militibus principem auferre litem*. Perhaps Tac. wrote *etiam militibus principem auferre relicum*, 'the only thing left them to do was to rob the troops of their emperor.' The phrase *relicum est* is constructed by Sallust with the infinitive.]

Page 11.

2. *dicturos*] Or. Obl. for *dicemus*.

repositibus aut prospera aut aduersa] People would expect them to have either victory or defeat to announce. But they would have to explain that there had been no fight at all.

CHAPTER 14.

6. *quinta*] which had been the strongest part of the army which Caecina's rival Valens had led from Germany (I 61).

8. *legatum...praefectum castrorum*] Note, p. 149.

11. *insontes*] in no way responsible for the treachery of Bassus.

12. *rursus*] 9. 20.

pergunt] 'set off for': they do not reach it till 21. 16, 22. 1. They seem to have gone by roads running *south* of the Po.

13. *Italicae...Rapaci*] Note, p. 148.

15. *praemiserat*] at some point on his march northwards from Rome—probably Ravenna or Ariminum.

CHAPTER 15.

16. *Antonio*] possessive dat.: cp. Caesar's phrase *exploratum habere*. So 58. 29 *Vitellio cognita*: see also 65. 13.

19. *iunctis legionibus*] 'once the legions were united,' abl. abs.

25. *accuerat*] as Tac. has already described in 11 97, where however Gaul was not mentioned.

26. *molem*] see on 1. 16. Observe that the word with its adjective represents the apodosis to *ni—praecepisset*: cp. Liu. 21. 5. 11 *inuicta acies si aequo dimicaretur campo*.

28. *castris*] 'day's march,' as often in Caes. and Livy. So Martial uses *essedis tribus* 'three post-stages.'

Page 12.

1. *ciuili*] 'of civil war': the troops being auxiliary (non-Roman), the booty was not taken from their *ciues*.

2. *octauum*] sc. *lapidem* (expressed 18. 12).

CHAPTER 16.

11. *caede*] sc. *hostium*. Why he inflicted but slight loss on them is explained by the next clause.

12. *acerrimus quisque...ultimus erat*] 'those who had been foremost in the pursuit were now hindmost in the rout.' This is a little obvious, it is true, but the silver writers are sometimes tempted to mere platitude by love of contrast and similar considerations: cp. 77. 6, 84. 28.

fugae] gen. of respect. This poetic constr. is common in silver prose: very instructive is the use of it with *securus*, unknown even to Livy, but found in almost all later prosaists (see 41. 24). Livy has a good many such genitives, among them *improvidus* (below, 56. 21) and *nimius* (below, 75. 7). The elder Pliny is the first to use *anxius* thus in prose (below, 38. 28). Other exx. in this book are either innovations on Tac.'s part [so *ambiguus* 43. 2, *constans* 57. 14, *incuriosus* 56. 29 (used also by his contemporary Pliny)] or at all events not found in prose before [*parcus* 75. 11 (Hor. and silver poets), *pavidus* 41. 23 (silver poets)]. See also 31. 26.

13. *nec...et*] 1. 11 n.: 'as on the one hand he had not ordered...so on the other.'

sponte Antonii] 4. 22 n.

18. *legiones*] which had been left at Bedriacum (15. 29).

per agros] to the cohorts of 15. 30.

23. *conflictabantur*] in its lit. sense, 'got knocked together,' 'hustled each other.' Cp. 32. 20.

CHAPTER 17.

24. *nullum...omisit*] Sall. C. 60. 4 *strenui militis et boni imperatoris officia simul exsequebatur*.

27. *unde*] variety for the previous *ubi*: cp. for the Roman point of view *hinc stare* 'stand on this side,' *quaerere aliquem ab ostio* 'ask for him at the door.' The exact force is perhaps 'from wherever a ray of hope seemed to come': cp. A. 13. 45 *unde utilitas ostenderetur*.

31. *quo*] = *cuius rei*. As an adj. often represents a gen. (esp. in poetry), so sometimes the demonstratives and relatives. In Verg. A. 2. 171 *ea signa* means 'tokens thereof': cp. 21. 20, 41. 24.

Page 13.

1. *inuit locus*] cynical: appeals to their *honour* were useless.

3. *incerto*] Liu. 44. 35 *alveus inaequalis*, A. 12. 33 *uado incerto*.

4. *partes*] briefly for *aciem partium* (*Flavianarum*).

6. *atque*] 'and so now...': cp. 30. 5, 36. 8.

8. *capere*] 'take prisoners.'

10. *uictoriae*] really brief for 'the pleasures of victory.' For the sense cp. 11. 14 'brave men and cowards in *uictoria idem audebant*.'

CHAPTER 18.

12. *fulsere*] 'came flashing in sight,' a vivid touch, for which cp. 24. 2.

13. *legionum*] 14. 13.

14. *laeto...proelio*] 'whilst the engagement which their cavalry began was going, as it did at the start, in their favour,' referring of course to the events narrated in the two previous chapters.

15. *prouecta*] with *signa*.

16. *contra fuit*] 'was unfavourable,' a silver meaning of the phrase, which however still often means, as it always does in earlier Latin, 'the reverse is true.'

laxare] as Ant. had done, 16. 15.

17. *ultro*] always implies that something *beyond* what was to be expected occurs. Here it gives *aggredi* the force 'take the initiative in attacking': cp. 54. 18, 58. 13, 70. 14, 73. 14.

18. *per spatium*] qualifies *cursu* and perhaps *pugnando*.

19. *haud perinde...atque etc.*] lit. 'they felt the want of a leader in their success in a very different way to that in which they felt his absence in the hour of difficulty'; in the former case they did not miss him at all, in the latter, much. We can only say something like 'little as they had missed..., they keenly felt the need of him....'

23. *auxiliaribus*] infantry, but lighter armed than the legionaries (Note, p. 149). Cp. the famous charge of Gordons and Greys at Waterloo.

adsequitur] 'comes up.'

26. *propinqua moenia*] 'the nearness of the walls': the principle is the same as in *urbs condita*: cp. 33. 19 n.

27. *quanto plus...dabant*] 'made their resolution weaker in exact proportion to the greater hope it held out.'

30. *anceps*] At the outset it went in favour of the Vitellians: see 16. 12 sqq.

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CHAPTER 19.

1. *uniuersum robur*] Till now only auxiliary troops and some of the legionaries (18. 24) had arrived.

2. *cumulos super et recentia caede uestigia*] Position of preposition (not rare in Tac.) and the phrase *recentia caede* give the passage a strongly poetic tinge. Tac. probably has in mind Verg. A. 9. 455 *tepidaque recentem | caede locum*.

4. *pergere deposcunt*] The inf. after *poscere* is fairly common in poetry and is found in the elder Seneca. Tac. seems the first to use it after *deposcere* and *exposcere*.

6. *haec*] probably acc. (as *illa* certainly is): cp. 24. 25. For the sense and constr. cp. Pers. 2. 8 *haec clare et ut audiat hospes: illa sibi introrsum*: one class of prayer he speaks out boldly, the less creditable ones he utters only in his heart.

in medio] 'in the open,' 'in presence of all.'

illa] points to the Or. Obl. which follows.

8. *idem*] sc. as if they did it in daylight.

9. *iam*] marks the apodosis: 'by that time overtures would begin.' With *pacem et preces* supply *futuras esse*.

10. *pacem*] either 'proposals for peace,' or 'pardon' (as in *pace tua*, 'with your kind permission'): cp. 31. 28 and 60. 30.

clementiam] 'reputation for cl.'

12. *sinu*] 'pockets.'

praefectorum legatorumque] Note, p. 149.

13. *expugnatae*] emphatic, 'if a city is stormed, its plunder....'

CHAPTER 20.

17. *manipulis*] A manipule consisted of 2 centuries: see 21. 27.

18. *aspectu et auctoritate*] Those who saw him passed word round, and his name was enough for the others.

20. *diuisa inter exercitum ducesque munia*] rather a common place: cp. e.g. Val. Fl. 4. 622 *acri potior prudentia dextra*, Sil. 5. 100 *leuior laus in duce dextrae*.

24. *uirili portione*] variety for the ordinary *parte uirili*: Intr. p. xi.

26. *quae occurrant*] 'what awaited them,' the dangers before them.

28. *explorato*] The free use of the past ptc. by itself in the abl. of circumstance, corresponding to the impersonal use of the finite verb, is first found in Livy. But adverbs like *consulto* and *auspicato* (72. 30) shew that the process was an old one.

30. *quis...foret*] depends on *prospectu*, 'chance of seeing first.'

Page 15.

2. *cetera expugnandis urbibus*] Do not copy this use of a dat. (work contemplated) in dependence on a noun. In l. 12 a predicative dat. is used in the same way, and in 70. 3 for variety's sake such a dative is coordinated with an adj.

5. *aggerem*] a mound of earth thrown up near the city walls so that artillery posted there could command the interior.

6. *pluteis cratibusue*] mantlets, or screens set up as cover for the troops. They were often put on wheels so as to be moved in front of advancing troops.

8. *aliena*] is contrasted with *nostra*, which has to be supplied in the mind: 'we shall have no works of our own (*plutei, agger* etc.), only the enemy's to gaze at.'

quin] 2. 17.

9. *mora*] 'at the cost of...delay.' Only a silver writer would venture on so metaphorical a use of the abl. of price.

12. *usui*] l. 2 n.

CHAPTER 21.

17. *omnemque exercitum*] besides the legions, detachments from Britain (see on 2. 20) and auxiliary troops (II 100).

18. *Hostiliae*] 14. 12.

egerat] 2. 7 n.

20. *is terror*] Note the personification, and for *is* see on 17. 31.

22. *viae Postumiae*] connecting Genoa with Aquileia: see Map. For *aggere viae* 'roadway': cp. Verg. A. 5. 273 (a snake killed by a passing waggon) *qualis saepe viae deprensus in aggere serpens* | *aerea quem obliquum rota transiit*.

26. *limitem*] apparently a footpath leading off the main road across the fields.

27. *intersaepta*] either 'with its ranks divided by' or 'protected from the enemy's weapons' (in which case it is simply a variant for *praemunita*).

signorumque] the standards of the maniples (20. 17 n.). He means that under e.g. the standard of the 3rd legion you would find many soldiers belonging to other legions.

28. *praetorianum*] The old praetorians, disbanded by Vitellius (Intr. p. xx), had enthusiastically adopted Vespasian's cause (II 67).

29. *uexillum*] Note, p. 150.

31. *Sido atque Italicus*] 5. 9.

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CHAPTER 22.

1. *acquiescere ratio fuit*] a rare constr., found several times in Cic. and once in Livy. Tr. 'the right policy would have been,' and for the ind. *fuit* cp. Br. 461.

3. *alгоре*] It was now probably the end of October: cp. 50. 26 *propinqua hieme*.

5. *indigus*] rare in prose.

6. *impingitur*] gives the idea of a blind rush made by the Vitellians. Cp. Val. Fl. 3. 149 *Pollux impingitur Hebro* (also in a night engagement), Sil. 4. 370 *impacti turbine pugnae* (i.e. colliding by mere chance).

8. *ausim*] Br. 149: cp. 28. 9 *discreuerim*, 78. 27 *adsignauerit*.

quamquam...tradiderint] 10. 3 n.

9. *suorum*] seems strange: on what other force's wing were they likely to stand? [That it is due to mechanical, unintelligent alteration by Tac. of a *nostrorum* which he found in a description of the fight by one of the combatants (? Messalla) seem highly improbable.]

10. *uexillis*] Note, p. 150. For these British legions see Intr. p. xx.

14. *Rapaces...Italicis*] i.e. the soldiers of the legions of 14. 13.

16. *nocte*] There are a few exx. of this abl. of duration in early writers (e.g. Caesar), but it is not till Ovid and silver prose that it becomes at all common: e.g. *nocte dieque* in this sense is not, so far as I know, found before then. Cp. 75. 8.

uarium, anceps] Sall. Ing. 51 *facies totius negotii uaria, incerta*.

his, rursus illis] ‘now to one, then again to the other,’ as in 83. 23. Cases where an advb. or conjunction has to be taken in succession with words (or phrases) between which it stands are not uncommon: cp. Verg. A. 5. 830 *pariterque sinistros | nunc dextros soluere sinus* (‘now the left, now the right’), Aesch. Ag. 532 *Πάρις γὰρ οὔτε συντελὴς πόλις* (‘neither P. nor city’) and Dryden’s ‘The rising nor the setting sun beheld.’

19. *pugnae signum*] Thuc. 7. 44 *τοῖς ἐρωτήμασι τοῦ ξυνομήματος πυκνοῖς χρώμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις σαφὲς αὐτὸ κατέστησαν*: cp. 73. 14.

20. *permixta*] It was not safe to make for one of the standards of your own side, for it might happen to be in the hands of the enemy.

23. *sex primorum ordinum centuriones*] As *ordo* can mean (1) century (so 49. 19) and (2) centurion, we may tr. accordingly (1) ‘6 centurions commanding *primi ordines*’ (*ordinum* being the same gen. as we have e.g. in the phrase *legatus legionis*), or (2) ‘6 centurions belonging to the *primi ordines* class’ (partitive gen.).

If, with Mommsen, we think that the common phrase *primi ordines* means ‘the most distinguished centurions’ of a legion, the number therefore varying in different legions, we must of necessity accept (2). With the other, and likelier, view that it denotes a definite division of the centuries (or centurions) of a legion, either (1) or (2) is open to us here. But the natural Latin for (2) would be *sex primi ordines*: cp. Vell. 2. 112 *e quibus (centurionibus) etiam primi ordines cecidere*.

primorum ordinum] Of the various interpretations of this phrase, apart from Mommsen’s given in the previous note, two deserve mention. We know the chief centurion commanded a century of the *triarii*: perhaps all *triarii*-centuries (20 in number) were reckoned as superior to the others. Or again, it is clear that in Caesar’s time all centuries of the 1st cohort counted above those of the 2nd, and these again above those of the 3rd and so on (B. C. 3. 53): the *primi ordines* then may be the centuries (centurions) of the higher (perhaps first 5) cohorts.

CHAPTER 23.

27. *accitis*] from the right wing (21. 28).

30. *aggerem uiae*] 21. 23.

31. *uacuo atque aperto*] apparently abl. of place whence.

excuterentur] This vb. in silver Latin often means 'hurl,' being especially used of sling or catapult missiles (to which it best applies), but also of spears etc. Cp. e.g. Sen. ep. 108. 10 (verse the best medium for maxims): plain prose is neglected, but *ubi accessere numeri, eadem illa sententia uelut lacerto excussa torquetur*.

Page 17.

1. *ballista*] an early 'Long Tom.' The brave action here described is quite analogous to the gun-spiking of modern days.

4. *strage*] absolutely, 'heap of dead,' a rare use: cp. however Sil. 10. 193 *e strage est ferrum euulsum*. Vergil's *stragis acerui* goes still further.

5. *scutis*] of dead Vitellians.

uincla] acc. to Dict. Ant. s.v. *tormentum*, the stretched strings in which were fixed the two beams which formed the arms of the bow. The tension of these strings projected the missile.

libramenta] the actual bow-string, according to the same authority.

tormentorum] The plural is strange, as the one engine of l. 1 seems meant. Probably Tac. wished to avoid the similar endings *-imenta*, *-menti*.

9. *adulta*] This use of the vb. in reference to seasons etc. is almost peculiar to Tac. Sallust however writes *adulta aestas*.

ostenderet] Livy and later writers use the subj. after *donec* where no idea of purpose is involved: see 61. 4, 78. 4, 82. 17. For the usage of the best writers see Br. 440, 441.

10. *falleretque*] Tac. and other silver writers often use *que* or *et* to introduce an *adversative* clause and surprise the reader. We must be content with 'and yet': the moon revealed them, yet left them still in doubt. Cp. 25. 31, 56. 6, 67. 25.

12. *falso, ut in corpora, ictu*] 'as they took mistaken aim at what looked like the enemy's bodies.'

14. *incauti*] 'defenceless,' lit. 'unable to be *cauti*.' So Liu.

25. 38 where it is coupled with *apertus*.

CHAPTER 24.

19. *resumpsissent*] 9. 6.

21. *abolere*] little used outside Vergil, his imitators, and Suetonius. Here Tac. perhaps remembers Verg. A. 11. 789 *da pater hoc nostris aboleri dedecus armis*.

23. *principes auctoresque belli*] Tac.'s account II 85 sqq. implies that they were the first of the Danube legions to declare for Vespasian.

25. *haec*] 19. 6.

27. *sub M. Antonio*] 105 years before; their lineal ancestors are of course meant.

sub Corbulone] 6. 4. They had come direct from Syria to Moesia (II 74).

28. *Sarmatas*] They had almost annihilated the Rhoxolani who ventured on a raid into Moesia during Otho's brief term of rule (I 79).

29. *uincitis*] 2. 29.

pagani] an instructive variety on the *Quirites*! with which Caesar crushed his mutinous troops. Ant. means that they must make up their minds to live in future far away from Rome—a terrible blow for these praetorians, for whom the pleasures of the Capital had all the charm of novelty. In 43. 25, 77. 20 the word simply means 'civilians,' without any bad connotation at all.

30. *illic*] in the enemy's lines.

Page 18.

1. *consumpsistis*] 'have exhausted the whole measure of': cp. Sen. Med. 122 *omne consumptum nefas*, Sil. 11. 34 *consumptus pudor peccando*, Curt. 6. 8 *misericordiam consumpserunt*. A somewhat analogous use of the vb. ('occupy the whole field') is

common in silver poetry: cp. Manil. 5. 585 *terga* (of a serpent) *consumunt pelagus*, Stat. Ach. 1. 446 *totos consumunt carbasa* (of a huge fleet) *uentos*, Sil. 3. 157 *consumpsit uisus pontus*.

et orientem solem etc.] a vivid touch, which reminds one of Kipling.

CHAPTER 25.

3. *uagus*] 'spreading accidentally.'

an] for *siue* or *uel* as often in Tac., a usage unknown to the best prose.

5. *in uicem*] a distinctly silver way of expressing the ἀλλήλους which Latin lacks. The best writers prefer *inter se* (cp. Sall. Jug. 53. 7 *haud procul inter se*) or *alius alium* and the like. Cp. 46. 14.

7. *ut quos...contraheret diduceretue*] So Livy often has *ut qui* where Cic. would write *quippe qui*. As *quos* is here taken up by *quemque* we get an untranslatable sentence, in which are inextricably joined two ideas: (1) each man's fury (or terror) made him stand his ground with the rest (or break away from them), and (2) fury and terror alternately made them rally or break.

9. *impulsos*] 16. 10. Here, as so often, the idea is that of getting a heavy mass to move, of overcoming *uis inertiae*.

10. *denso agmine*] He formed column and tried to shatter them.

13. *litem*] not the *limes* of 21. 26, it seems, but the foot-path running beside the road.

15. *filius patrem interfecit*] Horrors of this kind were dear to silver literature. Lucan's poem on the Civil War is full of the theme, and Silius introduces into his tedious epic a very similar scene (9. 66 sqq.). Cp. 51. 23 sqq.

16. *auctore Messalla*] 9. 31.

19. *Galba*] whilst still in Spain (Intr. p. xvii).

22. *precabatur platos*] simply an extension of the common constr. with *uelle* (e.g. *rem publicam defensam uelle*; cp. Br. 231, 240 obs. 1). Ovid, Martial and Statius have the acc. and inf. Such a use is natural enough in Tac., for it (1) is brief: cp.

A. 15. 64 *timere Neronem implacabilem*, and (2) secures variety: the ordinary constr. immediately follows.

24. *publicum*] 'shared by the whole nation.'

quotam...partem] lit. 'the how manieth part.,' i.e. 'what a fraction.' The phrase is a favourite of Ovid's and common in silver Latin: here the meaning is 'my share of the responsibility for the war and its crimes is small.' For the use of *pars* in ref. to a single person, with a gen. of the enterprise in which he has partaken, cp. Vergil A. 2. 6 *quorum pars magna fui*, 10. 427 *pars ingens belli*, Prop. 1. 21. 4 *pars militiae* (twice imitated by Ovid).

29. *nec*] = *nec tamen*, as sometimes in Cicero and Caesar: in silver Latin the use is common.

30. *trucidant spoliant*] Tac. is not so fond of asyndeton as Sallust, but occasionally drops connecting particles in vivid excited passages: so 83. 9.

31. *faciuntque*] 23. 10 n.: cp. Sen. Tr. 1129 *odit scelus spectatque*.

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CHAPTER 26.

2. *Othoniano bello*] when the town was held for Vitellius (II 22, 23). It received the new emperor with great honours.

8. *nullo iuxta subsidio*] abl. of attendant circumstances, practically an abl. abs. with *iuxta* representing the vb. *iuxta esse*.

10. *reuoluebatur*] a convenient equivalent for the passive of *reuolutura fuit*: cp. Br. 461. Tr. 'was likely to come to nothing.'

11. *id*] redundant, as sometimes in Sallust: cp. e.g. C. 12. 5 *quasi iniuriam facere id demum esset imperio uti*.

12. *ne...turbarent*] explains wherein lay the *formido*.

13. *super*] of course governs *quae cuncta*. The use of this preposition metaphorically as an equivalent for *praeter* in the meanings (1) 'in addition to' and (2) 'more than (a certain

standard, etc.)' seems mainly silver, though the adverbial use in these senses is found in the best Latin (e.g. in the phrase *satis superque*). Here either meaning will suit: in 39. 18, 45. 20, 77. 2 (1), in 48. 1 (2) is clearly required.

14. *periculi...patientior*] 'readier to face danger than brook delay.'

15. *ingrata quae tuta*] 'a safe course had no charm for them.'

CHAPTER 27.

18. *huc*] the view of the troops.

19. *corona*] 'cordon,' technical for the storming line.

22. *attribuit*] assigning the attack on each part to definite legions, as he explains below.

23. *labor*] Note personification, and for the sense cp. iv 23 *quo discreta uirtus manifestius spectaretur*.

25. *dexteriora*] i.e. to the right of the road by which they had come from Bedriacum: so *pars sinistra* 82. 13.

27. *Brixianam*] still farther to the right. Half of the city was protected by the Po.

28. *et alii*] as though *alii* or the like had preceded with *ligones dolabras*. He has about half a dozen exx. like this. Very awkward is A. 1. 63 *ut opus et alii proelium inciperent*. Of course A. 15. 5 *missae in Armeniam legiones et aliae pro Syria paratae inrumpere* is much easier, but it explains the origin of the other usage.

Page 20.

1. *fluitantem*] 'waving.'

3. *multa cum strage*] emphatic position.

4. *incesserat...monstrassent*] Br. 463 (i.). Tac., as one would expect, is prone to the vivid indicative in the apodosis.

6. *monstrassent*] reminded them of all it meant—the sack of a rich city: cp. A. 12. 44 *ostentare Armeniam*.

CHAPTER 28.

7. *Hormi*] 12. 5.

Messalla] 9. 31.

8. **C. Plinius]** the elder Pliny, author of the *Historia Naturalis* and uncle of the letter-writer. Among his many works was a history of Rome from the period (whatever that may have been) at which that of Aufidius Bassus concluded. His death in the Vesuvius eruption of 79 A.D. is the subject of two of the most interesting of his nephew's letters.

9. **discreuerim]** 22. 8.

nisi quod] generally limits a previous statement: e.g. Cic. Att. 2. 1. 11 *ualde me delectant n. q. me aere (alieno) obruerunt*. But here what follows in no way modifies Tac.'s statement that he cannot decide between the two views, and 'if it were not that' would be useless as a translation. The meaning is rather 'I'll only say this,' and practically the phrase is equivalent to 'but anyhow.' So exactly in Germ. 9: perhaps Tac. is imitating Sallust, who writes (Iug. 67. 3) *id...parum comperimus, nisi...improbis instabilisque uidetur*.

11. **quamvis pessimo]** Even the best writers use *quamvis* with adjectives, but the meaning 'ever so' seems then always present. Here, and in such cases as Luc. 2. 178 *toto quamvis in corpore caeso | nil animae letale datum*, this meaning is entirely absent and the particle simply gives concessive force in Lucan, e.g. 'though the whole of his body was wounded,' where the meaning would be the same, but less clear, without *quamvis*. It seems a silver usage: cp. on *quamquam* 2. 24.

degenerauere] They could not make their reputation worse, no matter what they did.

14. **iteratam]** 'reformed,' after 27. 1 sqq.

17. **omni imagine mortium]** Verg. A. 2. 369 *plurima mortis imago*.

CHAPTER 29.

24. **ut...ita]** 'though for the moment...yet.'

25. **summa]** Tac. is fond of using the neuter pl. of adjectives with a partitive genitive in dependence: see on 11. 28 and cp. 42. 3 and 5 *proxima litorum, plana Vmbriae*, 76. 2 and 3 *intute moenium, amoena litorum*. See also on 82. 14.

26. **iuncta]** 'adjoining.'

27. *cuneis*] 'storming columns.'

tertianus] sing., for variety after *septimani*.

31. *in uallum*] He gets inside and thence ascends the ramparts.

egressus] of climbing in Sallust, Livy, poetry, and later prose: cp. 71. 5.

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3. *quantum...uacui fuit*] subj. to *completur*: 'all the vacant space.'

4. *muros*] the *moenia urbis* of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 30.

5. *noua laborum facies*] Verg. A. 6. 103 *non ulla laborum | o uirgo noua mi facies inopinaue surgit*.

6. *saxeae, ferrati*] where the camp had only wood.

7. *obstrictus*] 26. 2 n.

9. *pars Italiae*] The use of the country-name for its inhabitants is very rare and not to be imitated (Br. 319). Even Cicero however writes *tota Italia* (Deiot. 4. 11).

11. *incitamentum*] except for Cic. Arch. 10. 23 (where it is quite possible that Cic. wrote *inuitamentum*), only found in silver Latin.

14. *si*] 'in the hope that,' a very idiomatic use: the apodosis to be supplied is perhaps 'so that they might surrender.' So the Greeks use *ei* (esp. *ei πως*), and traces of this remain in our version of N.T., e.g. Mark 11. 13 'he came, if haply he might find anything': 52. 10 below. Liu. 5. 42 illustrates both sense and constr.: the Gauls set fire to Rome *si compelli ad deditionem caritate sedium suarum obsessi possent*.

16. *altitudinem...egressa*] parallel to *propinqua*, 'which stood near the walls and rose above the height.'

egressa] This verb is sometimes transitive in Caesar, but never in Cicero. The use is mainly silver, the metaphorical meaning 'rise above,' 'exceed,' seems entirely so. *Exire* has a similar record; the trans. force however appears here as early as Terence,

and is combined with the metaphorical meaning in Lucr., Verg., etc. Cp. *eluctari* 59. 5, *elabi* ib. 11. [The phrase *egredi relationem* applied to a senator who departs in his speech from the subject before the house is not found outside Tac.]

CHAPTER 31.

20. *alii*] the auxiliaries, *alii* as often in Livy and Tac. standing for *ceteri* (cp. 68. 19).

cum languescere] The historic inf. here simply represents the indicative regularly used with 'inverted' *cum* (i.e. *cum* introducing what is really the main clause: Br. 435). We first find the inf. thus used by Sallust (Iug. 98. 2), Tac. has several exx. and in A. 13. 57 extends the idiom to *donec*.

22. *ut quis* etc.] i.e. the higher officers.

cedere] sc. *libentius*, or the like.

23. *quoque*] like the camp (29). *Cremona excisa* is abl. abs.

24. *uenia*] sc. *esset*.

25. *pretium*] 'something to be gained by...'

26. *futuri socors*] gen. of respect: see on 16. 12. Such genitives are commonest in silver Latin, but the only other passage quoted for one after *socors* is from Terence.

29. *posuissent*] 'abandoned.'

primores castrorum] a curious expression, but *castra* is sometimes a mere equivalent for *exercitus* (cp. 13. 9 n.). The troops on discovering Caecina's treachery chose as their commanders a *legatus legionis* and a *praefectus castrorum* (14. 8), but the *tot fortissimi viri* of l. 3 below shews that more than these two are included under the title.

nomen atque imagines] 13. 19 n.

31. *tunc*] i.e. since 14. 7.

Page 22.

2. *tumentem*] This verb and *tumor* are occasionally used by Cic. in philosophical language of the *animus*, affected by *aegritudo* (grief or anger). But the poets and silver writers regularly use them (as also *tumescere* and *tumidus*) to denote anger or pride.

Statius even constructs *tumere* with a dative, like *irasci*. Either emotion suits here: II 30 (where Caecina is called *tumidus* with the meaning 'arrogant') and *superbia* below favour the choice of the second.

3. **extremum malorum**] in apposition to what follows, as if *uirorum inuocatio* had been written. This rather rhetorical figure of speech is common in Tac.: cp. too Sallust, Or. Macr. 26 *abunde libertatem rati quia tergis abstinetur et huc ire licet atque illuc, munera ditium dominorum*.

4. **uelamenta**] branches (chiefly of olive) which took with the ancients the place of the modern 'white flag.' So Verg. A. 11. 101 *uelati ramis oleae* = 'furnished with olive boughs as *uelamenta*.' Fillets of wool (*infulae*) were often wound round them.

pro] 'on the front of'; not a rare meaning of the prep., though the use of it, except in such phrases as *pro tribunali* 'on the platform,' seems silver, the earliest exx. being found in Sallust and Livy. [Lewis and Short hopelessly confuse their account, many of their exx. being ones in which *pro* means either simply 'before' or else 'in the name of.']

5. **inhiberi tela**] our 'that firing should cease.'

9. **praeberi**] for the inf. see on 10. 11, for the sense cp. 85. 20.

10. **uicti**] the position gives the force 'as the due of the vanquished.'

12. **uictoriae temperassent**] 'made generous (lit. 'moderate') use of,' a phrase used by Sall. C. 11. Tac. apparently refers to the scene which followed the surrender of the camp when both sides fraternised together *in lacrimas effusi, sortem ciuiliū armorum detestantes* (II 45).

14. **incessit**] has its usual idea of swagger.

16. **etiam**] even the treachery by which they were to have profited. Tac. has the idea elsewhere (A. 1. 58 *proditores etiam eis quos anteponunt inuisi sunt*), and it is of course by this time a commonplace.

CHAPTER 32.

20. **conflictabatur**] 16. 23.

aberant] The subj. may be *plebs*, in which case the plural

is simply for variety and *caedes* is slightly strained to a passive meaning (cp. e.g. i 84 *ad sanguinem et caedem deprecere aliquem*), or it may be *armati*. But the first explanation seems to suit better Tacitus' taste for variety and his strained use of words.

23. *magnifice*] 9. 12.

24. *in neutrum*] 'without committing himself.'

27. *Othonis bello*] 26. 2 n.

tertiadecumanos] Intr. p. xx.

29. *ut sunt procacia*] 'with the pertness of...': cp. 48. 29. Tac.'s account in ii 88 illustrates the remark: when the victorious Vitellians halted some seven miles out of Rome to take a meal, the city mob which flocked out to see them soon began to take liberties with them, until the men got angry and drew their swords on them. Several good citizens indeed got killed in the confusion.

31. *spectaculum*] Intr. p. xx.

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3. *alioqui*] a distinctly silver prose particle, very rare indeed until Livy, but thenceforward common. It has several meanings: (1) 'in all other respects,' (2) 'at all other times,' (3) 'in itself,' 'anyhow,' 'without anything more,' (4) 'besides,' (5) 'else.' In (1), (3) and (4) it closely answers to *ἄλλως*. Here either (2) or (3) will suit. Tac. does not seem to use it in meaning (1).

5. *ceteri duces etc.*] Sall. C. 51. 12 *qui magno imperio praediti in excelso aetatem agunt, eorum facta cuncti mortales nouere*.

9. *incalescerent*] sc. *balneae*.

uernile dictum] 'a jest worthy of a *uerna*,' i.e. a coarse one. The *uernae* or homeborn slaves were treated with much favour and often became the licensed buffoons of the household. Ant. said 'it's very cold, but it will be warmer soon,' knowing that the troops meant to fire the city. [I prefer this interpretation to the other, which supposes that *statim futurum* etc. was said in answer to Ant. by the slave, whose voice was then mistaken for that of Ant. But (1) why should the two voices have been confused? (2) Tac.'s words imply that Ant. was unlucky, but only in so far as his

actions were watched, not through having someone else's words taken for his own. (3) *Vernile* naturally means 'suitable to (not simply 'belonging to') a *uerna*.'

10. *tamquam*] 4. 19 n.

11. *quae iam flagrabat*] These words of Ant.'s certainly did not give the signal, for by the time he spoke them the city was already alight.

CHAPTER 33.

12. *quadraginta milia*] 2. 20 n.

16. *uiles*] 'worthless.'

ad] 'from the point of view of,' a use found in the best Latin.

17. *ubi...incidisset*] This frequentative subj. is common in silver writers, but decidedly rare before Livy (Br. 434 obs.): cp. 83. 25.

19. *diuulsus...agebat*] 'was almost torn to pieces...and (the struggle for him) made the spoilers turn with murderous intent on each other.' Strictly, of course, *diuulsus* stands for *is diuulsus*, which means, not 'he being torn' but, 'the tearing of him' and this is the subject to *agebat*: cp. e.g. Sall. C. 48. 4 *ne eum Lentulus et Cethegus deprehensi terrerent* and often in Livy (Br. 417).

20. *grauia auro dona*] Verg. A. 3. 464 *dona dehinc auro grauia*.

22. *obuia*] in this sense is silver: cp. 80. 23, and similarly in Quintilian and Martial. [In Sen. ep. 122. 14 Erasmus conjectured it, probably rightly, for the corrupt *obuium* of mss.]

25. *uacuas...inania*] Here the variety is Vergilian: A. 6. 269 *perque domos Ditis uacuas et inania regna*.

lasciuia] 'wantonness.'

26. *ut*] 'as was likely,' a common use of the word: so 59. 2, 71. 16.

uario linguis] lit. 'mixed in regard to languages,' 'which contained men of different tongues.' For the sense cp. 11 37 *exercitus linguis moribusque dissonos*, Luc. 3. 289 *tam uariae cultu gentes, tam dissona vulgi | ora* (of Pompey's army), Sil. 16. 19

tot dissona lingua | agmina, barbarico tot discordantia ritu | corda
(of Hannibal's).

27. **interessent]** The subj. is due to *cui* causal.

28. **aliud cuique fas]** Each had his own idea of what was *fas*. Note that Tac. never uses *alius* with its derivatives or repeated in another case, and so will not write *aliud alii* here. Probably his love of variety explains the fact.

illicitum] sc. to the *whole* army: no matter how great the crime, *some* of the troops could regard it as permissible.

29. **Cremona]** a good ex. of brevity.

30. **in ignem considerent]** Verg. A. 2. 624 *considerare in ignis*.

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CHAPTER 34.

2. **primordio]** 218 B.C.

sui] 3. 8 n.

5. **agentes]** 2. 7. Note the variation, *aduersus G.* and *siqua uis rueret*.

6. **igitur]** resumptive (as often) after the parenthesis in which is stated the cause of the city's foundation.

7. **fluminum]** Po and Adige.

ubere] 'fertility,' as often in Vergil and borrowed by his imitators.

adnexu] occurs only here. Mommsen (St. R. 3. 766⁹) thinks it refers to the amalgamation of outlying districts with the growing city. Such districts would in technical parlance be said *attribui Cremonensibus*, the absorption leaving them inferior in rights to the original city. The usual explanation is that the word is equivalent to *commercium*, an agreement between two or more states, in which each undertakes that members of the other states when trading with it shall enjoy the protection of its laws so far as they bear on commercial matters.

9. **ciuilibus]** for in 42 B.C. it took the side of Brutus and Cassius, and much of its land was confiscated by Octavian and Antonius for the benefit of their veterans. The confiscation

extended to the neighbouring districts, and even to Mantua 40 miles away (and this is why Vergil calls that city *nimum uicina Cremonae* in E. 9. 28).

12. *effecerat*] *had* done so even before the order was issued.

15. *occulte*] such sale being against the edict.

redemptabantur] occurs only here.

CHAPTER 35.

19. *adsidere*] of encamping apparently first in Sallust: Cicero and Caesar do not have it.

sepultae] Cic. Cat. 4. 6. 11 *sepulta patria*, Fam. 4. 5. 4 (from Sulpicius) *cadauera oppidum*, Verr. 2. 1. 2. 5 *pars reipublicae aegra et prope deposita*, Prov. cons. 19. 45 *funus rei publicae*. Of course in poetry such expressions are less surprising.

24. *dispersae*] so after Bedriacum (Intr. p. xx).

25. *nuntios famamque*] hendiadys. Ordinary messengers, as opposed to the officers of the conquered army.

28. *Treuir*] the Treuiri (Trèves) were the nearest Gallic tribe to Germany: Caes. B. G. 3. 11.

30. *suspecta Germania*] abl. abs.

31. *tamquam*] 4. 19 n.

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CHAPTER 36.

1. *at Vitellius*] Tac. returns to affairs at Rome, which he dropped at 11 99.

2. *Valentem*] Intr. p. xxi.

3. *curis luxum obtendebat*] 'hid his anxiety under the cloak of licentious enjoyment': cp. A. 15. 5 *metu abstruso mitiora obtendens* (where however *metu* is of course abl.). *Luxus, luxuria* are very much worse than our 'luxury.'

4. *exercitio*] a rare word, confined to silver Latin.

5. *firmare*] iv 26 *muniendo uallandoque et ceteris belli meditationis militem firmabant*.

in ore] 'before the eyes of,' a Ciceronian phrase.

7. si...suggeras, iacent] Note the breach of the rule that if the vb. of the principal clause is in the indicative, the vb. in the conditional clause will be so also (Br. 452). The fact is that the 'potential' subjunctive, so common with the 2nd person sing. used in a general sense (=our 'one'), occasionally appears in dependent clauses: cp. Cic. Sen. 11. 36 *haec, nisi tamquam lumini oleum instilles, extinguuntur*. So even in the 3rd person, in maxims: see 86. 6. For the thought, cp. Sall. C. init. *omnis homines...niti decet ne uitam silentio transeant ueluti pecora quae natura...uentri oboedientia finxit*.

8. atque] often begins a sentence in Tac., being generally followed by some case of *ille*: cp. 17. 6.

9. nemore Aricino] Aricia was 15 miles from Rome; its grove, sacred to Diana, was very famous. The priest of the temple there was always a runaway slave who obtained his office by the killing of his predecessor in single combat.

marcentem] of a dazed person, unable to hold his head erect: cp. Sen. ep. 74. 1 *marcentem excitare*, and below 55. 24 *ut e somno excitus*.

10. Bassi] 12. 20 sqq.

12. gaudio dolor] The two words acquire in conn. with *adfertur* the meanings 'good, and bad, news' respectively. Hence the acc. and inf. *desciuisse* etc.

17. praetorii praefectum] one of the two prefects: the other was Iulius Priscus (II 92 and below, 55. 24).

CHAPTER 37.

20. composita in] 'with a carefully studied tendency to...'

22. attollitur] 'is complimented': so *tollere (ferre) aliquem laudibus* in the best writers.

atrocis sententiae] 'proposals for severity.'

23. L. Vitellio] the emperor's brother, of whom we hear much henceforward.

26. prodidisset] subj. of virtual Or. Obl., 'as they put it, he had proved traitor to...'

27. *suum dolorem*] their own private grudge against him.

30. *suspensi*] 'on tiptoe,' 'with extreme care': cp. Sen. contr. 1. praef. 22 *per spinosum locum ambulantes suspensos pedes ponere*. *Circumibant* helps the metaphor.

Page 26.

1. *locum*] strained to mean 'anyone who took his place,' much as Vergil (A. 5. 339) has *palma* for 'victor.' Under the Empire the yearly tenure of the consulship had been gradually abandoned. Nero regularly had two pairs of consuls, each ruling half the year, but shorter terms than this are found. Caecina and a colleague had been appointed consuls till the end of October: at the same time another pair must have been appointed to succeed them on Nov. 1st. The only point was, who was to take Caecina's place for the one day which his term had still to run.

2. *tribuentis accipientisque*] *objective* genitives.

4. *eiuravitque*] 'resigned,' 'vacated office,' as in 69. 22. Technically, it denoted the taking of an oath, on laying down office, to the effect that one had committed no act *contra leges*. Cicero improved on the regular formula by swearing '*res publica atque haec urbs mea unius opera est salua*' (Pis. 3. 6).

5. *abrogato magistratu*] Under the republic the proposal to dismiss a magistrate must come before the people, who had given the office, and their acceptance of the proposal was reckoned as a *lex*. Hence the word *abrogare*, a special form of the *rogare* regularly used of proposals submitted to the people. But since Tiberius the senate had been the electing body: it may have been a moot point as to whether it could also remove from office. In iv 47 men are thus removed with more regard for forms: *legem* (i.e. proposal to the people) *ferente Domitiano*.

6. *lege lata*] simply repeats *abrogato mag.*: see previous note.

7. *nam*] 'For a one day's consulate there was precedent, for...'

Rebilus] He was appointed at the seventh hour, consul for the rest of the day. Cicero jokes about it (Fam. 7. 30) with some

industry: 'nobody lunched in R.'s consulship; a most vigilant magistrate, he never set eyes on sleep throughout his term of office.'

8. *dictatore*] 45 B.C.

festinarentur] 'were hastily given.'

CHAPTER 38.

10. *Blaesi*] As governor of Gallia Lugdunensis he had shewn Vitellius much kindness when he arrived there on his march south, putting at his disposal his own private means. Tac. carries his cynicism so far as to hint that all this made V.'s petty soul hate him the more.

12. *Seruilianis hortis*] Their position is not known: Suet. Ner. 47 certainly suggests proximity to the Rome-Ostia road.

17. *in maius*] sc. *nuntiantur*, 'with exaggeration': 7. 19.

23. *speculantur*] One would have expected the *impf.*

24. *praua*] as so often, of mistaken, perverse action: he had no chance of success.

27. *accidens*] Do not imitate this free (and rather poetic) use of the pres. *ptc.*, for which *cum accidisset* is much more normal. He certainly was not falling at the very moment he opened the door. Cp. 84. 10, and for the usage of the best Latin see Br. 411.

confusionis] 'distress,' a common meaning of the word in silver Latin. Sometimes it comes very near our 'confusion' in the sense of 'embarrassment' or 'bewilderment.' So *confundere* already in Livy and Ovid.

28. *quaerenti*] The vb. of saying must be supplied.

30. *attulisse*] 9. 2.

31. *tot prouinciae*] an optimistic view, as 44. 8 sqq. shews.

Page 27.

2. *sinu*] Sall. C. 52. 35 *intra moenia atque in sinu urbis sunt hostes*, Plin. P. 56 *in hoc urbis otio et intimo sinu pacis*.

Iunios] the Iunii Silani who were related to Augustus, one of them having married Aemilia Lepida his great-granddaughter.

Caligula, Agrippina and Nero all shewed their fear of the family : Agrippina for instance had Lepida's son poisoned (Tac. A. 13. 1).

3. **Antonios**] The connection here is not clear. It must be remembered however that Ant. married Augustus' sister Octavia.

imperatoria] doubtless refers to Augustus and Antonius. There was however a famous general of Tiberius, an ancestor of this man's, named Blaesus : he was the last ordinary general whom the emperors allowed to be saluted by his troops, according to an old republican custom, as *imperator* (Tac. A. 3. 74).

4. **illuc**] 'in that direction,' 'on him.'

6. **fouet**] *Dum* w. indicative, in spite of Or. Obl., is found throughout Latin literature (Br. 438) and is especially common in Tac.

7. **e consilio prospectantem**] illustrates what Tac. means by *cetera in maius* above.

9. **si quid fato accidat**] V. was ill : one is surprised to find a Roman so forgetful and a courtier so indiscreet as to utter words of such ill omen.

CHAPTER 39.

11. **trepidanti**] of the flurry of the undecided, nearly equivalent to *dubitanti*.

14. **addidit facinori fidem**] 'made people believe he had committed a crime.'

17. **pauisse oculos**] The phrase is found in Terence, Cicero and later writers : it was probably a colloquial one. In Sen. ep. 58. 25 it is qualified as here (by the addition of the words *ut dici solet*), but there means 'rest one's eyes.'

18. **super**] 26. 13 n.

elegantiam] 'refinement': the adjective regularly denotes what has or shews taste.

20. **integris rebus**] i.e. while Vit.'s position was still firm.

22. **inturbidus**] 'a lover of peace,' just the opposite of Flavianus in 4. 25. The word is only used by Tac.

23. **adeo non**] The force of *adeo* here is very strange and appears to be 'so of course,' i.e. equivalent to *ideo*. It is a

distinctly silver usage, and when combined with a negative as here quite represents *nedum*. Cp. 64. 23.

effugerat ne] An object clause after this vb. is rare: cp. however Liu. 36. 25. 8 *ne quid simile paterentur effugerunt*, and the use with *terrere* (= 'deter') 42. 15.

CHAPTER 40.

25. *mollis*] 'effeminate,' 'luxurious.'

26. *segnius quam*] 7. 16 n.

31. *potuisset*] an exception to the rule cited on 9. 25, not to be imitated.

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6. *quod...deterrimum est*] qualifies *dum sequitur*. For censure of the middle course cp. Liu. 9. 3. 11.

CHAPTER 41.

10. *cohortes*] praetorian.

ala] Note, p. 149.

11. *fallendum*] 'slipping through unperceived,' contrasted with 'forcing a passage' (*penetrandum*).

13. *quominus*] as though Tac. had written *non abstinuit* for *infamia non caruit*.

15. *hospitum*] 2. 6.

domus] a rare form of the acc.

16. *ruentis fortunae...libido*] The gen. seems to me to be possessive: 'the licentiousness which is characteristic of a man whose position is tottering.' For grammar, cp. 45. 26 *rerum secundarum luxus*, 85. 24 *vox animi degeneris*; for sense, 11 47 *difficilius est temperare felicitati qua te non putes diu usurum* (hard to be moderate in the use of pleasures which one will not long be able to enjoy), Stat. Th. 2. 446 *non parcit populis regnum breue* (a king who knows his reign will be short has no mercy on his subjects).

17. *nouissima*] 'which clings to the very end.'

21. *attulerant*] 9. 2.

23. *periculorum*] The same gen. after *pavidus* in Lucan and the younger Seneca, *timidus* in Horace and Ovid, *timens* in Lucretius, *metuens* in Cic.

24. *dedecoris*] The gen. after *securus* in Horace and Vergil : in prose, first in the Tiberians Velleius and Valerius Maximus.

eo] 17. 31.

26. *flexit*] intrans., as in 82. 14 : so often in poetry, in prose first in Livy. Cp. *uertere* 6. 27.

28. *atrox*] ‘deadly to his adversaries,’ ‘which would have had terrible results.’

29. *quamcumque*] for *aliquam* or *quamvis*. In the best writers this use is very rare and seems confined to the ablative. From Livy onwards it becomes commoner.

Page 29.

CHAPTER 42.

2. *Fuscus*] chosen commander by the sailors 12. 31.

9. *segnitia maris*] i.e. dead calm. *Appellitur* would be the natural vb. to use with it (‘owing to...he puts in’), but *depellitur* has to do double duty (zeugma).

10. *portum Herculis Monoeci*] Monaco. Note the omission of the preposition, a poetic liberty : cp. 84. 31 *Auentinum defertur*, and 43. 5 where before the appositional *insulas* regular usage requires a prep.

11. *agebat*] 2. 7.

12. *procurator*] 5. 12.

13. *circa*] practically an adjective, ‘all the regions round about’ : a poetic usage, not to be imitated.

exuerat] 5. 8.

14. *ne*] after *terrere* as in 11 63 and Livy. The use after *detertere* is found as early as Plautus, and in Cicero and Caesar.

CHAPTER 43.

17. *procurator*] probably of Gallia Narbonensis (a senatorial province) : see on 4. 15.

19. *ante fortunam*] 1 10 'we only believed in signs having foreshadowed Vespasian's future power *post fortunam* (after he became emperor).' *Ante* and *post* are often used with a brevity, dear to silver Latin, before nouns which have only indirectly the idea of time. Of course phrases like *post urbem conditam* helped the tendency. So Luc. 6. 145 *ante feras Rhodani gentes* ('before the war with them'), Plin. ep. 3. 9. 17 *ante provinciam*, below, 49. 12 *post Cremonam*.

21. *exauctorati*] mainly the old praetorians (Intr. p. xx, cp. l. 24 below). But Tac. tells us (II 69) that *promiscae missiones offerebantur* by Vitellius.

22. *claustra*] 8. 9.

26. *municipali*] 'which his fellow townsmen would feel for him.'

27. *quae*] 'this movement.'

paratu] = *paratu ipso*, the real scale of the preparations as contrasted with that to which they were *aucta rumore*. The abl. is one of respect, and the whole phrase is practically equivalent to 'really strong, substantial.'

28. *uarios*] 'divided.'

29. *speculatoribus*] Note, p. 149⁶.

31. *remanere...uolentibus fuit*] 'they chose to remain,' a Grecism (*βουλομένοις ἦν*) used also by Sallust and Livy. The case is akin to the datives used to denote possession, person judging, etc.

Page 30.

1. *ut*] 'though.'

3. *uitaret, fideret*] not simple indirect questions, but dependent deliberatives: 'he was *to avoid*,' etc.

6. *oppressere*] not of course 'killed,' as 62. 6 shews.

CHAPTER 44.

8. *ad...conuersa*] 'turned and joined': 1 76 *conuersam ad Vitellium Hispaniam*, and cp. 53. 19 below.

10. *Adiutrice*] Intr. p. xx.

12. **at]** Tac. implies that Gaul and Spain had no special leaning towards Vespasian.

14. **a Claudio]** in 43 A.D., when he sent an expedition to Britain under A. Plautius.

praepositus] perfect ind., not ptc. [But perhaps some emendation is wanted: *et pace* inserted before *et bello* has been suggested.]

15. **egerat]** 2. 7 n.

motu] 'trouble from...': from Agr. 7 we know that the 20th legion was slow to take the oath of allegiance.

17. **anxii mutabant]** 'changed only with anxiety,' 'were uneasy about changing.'

CHAPTER 45.

18. **discordia]** causal: '*encouraged by*.'

20. **super]** 26. 13.

22. **Brigantibus]** This tribe, the most powerful in Britain, occupied the district corresponding to Lancashire, Yorkshire and most of England N. thereof.

24. **Carataco]** the celebrated King of the Silures. After his defeat by Ostorius (51 A.D.) he took refuge with Cartimandua, but was surrendered by her to the Romans.

25. **instruxisse]** 'add magnificence to....' In A. 12. 36 sqq. Tac. shews how these degenerate Romans exulted at having a conquered king once more paraded before them. He seems to forget here that the actual *triumph* took place seven years before, and that the natural word to use would be 'supplemented.'

29. **domus]** 'the power of her house.'

30. **libido...et saevitia]** 'all that her illicit passion and cruelty could do.' The knowledge of the latter made timorous men afraid to oppose her.

31. **auxillis...defectione]** instrumental. We should say 'summoning help and availing himself of the disaffection.'

Page 31.

3. **tamen]** They did not win all the battles (*uariis*); still the final result was in O.'s favour. Cp. 85. 25.

4. **bellum**] Venutius represented the national party who wished to be free of Rome, and it was reserved for Petilius Cerealis, one of Vespasian's generals, to crush the tribe.

CHAPTER 46.

8. **res**] 'prestige,' 'power.'

9. **mox**] in iv and v. He means the revolt of the Bataui under Ciuilis, who took up arms in the name of Vespasian, but really in hope of founding an independent empire. The Germans across the Rhine soon joined the movement (hence *externa* below) and the news of Vitellius' death made matters worse. Incensed at the fall of the emperor chosen by the legions of Germany the Roman troops began to kill their officers and join Civilis, as did also such peoples as the Treveri, hitherto Rome's staunchest allies. The insurrection was at last put down by Cerealis, probably by the end of the year 70.

14. in **uicem hostilia**] 'at each other's throats': see on 25. 5. **cohortium alarumque**] Note, p. 149.

17. **parabant ni...opposuisset**] At first sight the use of moods reminds us of 27. 4. The two passages are not however really similar: here there is no concession to vividness, but the *real* apodosis is suppressed and must be supplied in translation: 'were going on to storm, and would have done so.' This idiom is common in Livy and Tac.

opposuisset] 'sent against them.'

18. **ac**] joins *gnarus* etc. (reason why he *could* do so) and *ne...ingrueret* (reason why he *wished* to do so)—an effort for variety quite in the manner of Tac.

moles] of war, as 1. 16.

19. **diuersi**] 'from different directions.'

22. **transegitimus**] 5. 18.

23. **Asia**] The Roman province, corresponding to the western parts of Asia Minor.

pro consule] as governor of a *senatorial* province: see on 11. 11.

25. **spargi**] see on 35. 24.

26. *pars consilii pacisque*] 'an essential factor of their policy and the settlement.' So iv 86 *pars obsequii in eo ne deprehenderentur artes* ('to shew that he saw through this plan was to throw off his mask of obedience'), and cp. (what I am sure was in Tac.'s mind) Verg. A. 7. 266 *pars mihi pacis erit dextram tetigisse tyranni*.

CHAPTER 47.

30. *Polemonis*] King of Pontus Polemoniacus, the district along the E. half of the S. shores of the Euxine.

31. *uerterat*] 'had become': 6. 27. In 63 A.D. Nero joined it to the province of Galatia.

Page 32.

3. *in spem*] We should have expected the abl., but cp. Sall. H. 1. 13 *corrumpere in mercedem*. The expr. is pregnant for 'bribed by directing their attention to the hope.'

temnendae] the only place where Tac. uses this distinctly poetic word.

5. *extremo*] 'most easterly part.'

6. *subitus*] We might have expected an advb., but cp. Br. 61.

cohors] Tac. gives its history in a rather indirect way. The stages are (1) royal bodyguard of natives, (2) becomes a Roman force, receiving Roman franchise and weapons, but retaining the weaknesses of Greek troops, (3) and is eventually cut up by Anicetus.

7. *auxilium*] ii 14 *loci auxilium*.

9. *retinebant*] does not of course apply to *signa armaque* (*zeugma*).

classi] ships left (at Trapezus) without troops to defend them.

10. *uacuo*] 2. 14.

eludens] lit. 'having his play out,' 'roaming at his pleasure.'

12. *barbari*] as opposed to the Hellenic population of Bithynia-Pontus.

13. *camaras...aluum*] The exact constr. of the two accusatives is not clear. It seems best to take the second as appositional,

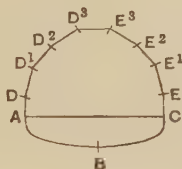
putting a comma after *uocant*: 'they call them (the ships, from *naubus* just before) *camarae*: (this is) a vessel of broad beam.'

artis] 'low,' 'shallow.' I can find no exact parallel, but the use of it with regard to contraction and abridgment is analogous.

15. *tumido mari*] abl. of attendant circumstances, 'when the sea is rough.'

prout fluctus attollitur] 'as the waves become greater.'

summa nauium] not the *deck*, but the *bulwarks* as opposed to the sides of the hull below (*latera*): the following latitudinal section will be of help.



ABC lata alius.

AD port bulwark, raised by the addition of successive planks DD^1 , D^1D^2 , D^2D^3 .

CE starboard bulwark, raised by the addition of successive planks EE^1 , E^1E^2 , E^2E^3 .

The addition of the plank D^3E^3 would completely cover in the deck.

16. *in modum tecti*] 'like a roof,' for 'as though by a roof.'

18. *mutabili*] i.e. changeable without affecting the *speed*.

hinc uel illinc] 'with one end or the other,' a curious extension of the meaning 'on this side or the other.'

19. *appellere indiscretum*] Observe that the constr. is really the same as that of 71. 8, but we cannot here keep the inf. Tr. 'whether they put in...makes no difference.'

CHAPTER 48.

20. *aduertit*] 'attracted the attention of,' in which sense the best writers prefer *conuertere*. The use of a dependent *ut* clause with it is found nowhere else.

21. *uexillarios*] Note, p. 150.

29. *ostendebatur*] 'the prospect was offered.'

fluxa, ut est barbaris, fide] Liu. 22. 22. 6 *qualia plerumque sunt barbarorum ingenia cum fortuna mutauerat fidem*.

30. *pactus*] 'having promised,' a rare use of the word, which almost always means 'stipulate for': cp. however Plaut. Pseud. 226 *quod pacta's non scis soluere*.

Page 33.

1. *super*] 26. 13 n.

2. *fluentibus*] Cic. has the metaphor, Sallust (in the Histories) almost the very expression: *rebus super uotum fluentibus*.

7. *Africam*] Egypt and Africa (i.e. the Roman province of that name) were the chief sources of Rome's corn supply. Cp. 8. 9 and e.g. Iuv. 8. 117. As an actual fact, when the war was over and corn ships arrived from Vespasian, there were only 10 days' provisions in Rome (iv 52).

latere] 'quarter,' a meaning very common in the silver poets, found also in Horace (O. 1. 22. 19).

9. *facturus*] 3. 11 n.

CHAPTER 49.

11. *transit*] 'changed sides (or hands).'

12. *post Cremonam*] 43. 19 n.

13. *agebat*] 2. 7.

14. *ex facili*] Sc. *sibi futura*, 'would come to him easily.'

seu] as if *seu quod ratus est* preceded. For the sentiment cp. Horace's *bene ferre magnam | disce fortunam*, Tac. himself (i 15) *secundae res acrioribus stimulis animos explorant quia... felicitate corrumpimur*, Sulpicius in Cic. Fam. 4. 5. 6 *secundam pulcherrime ferre fortunam*, Shakspeare 'Tis hard to bear great fortune.

19. *ordines*] 22. 23.

legionibus] for them to fill.

22. *quae*] of course accusative.

23. *corrumpendae disciplinae*] Sall. Iug. 88. 4 *gloriosa neque*

belli patrandi ('showy, but not likely to decide the war'). The usage belongs to the possessive gen.: cp. the common phrase *euertendae rei publicae esse* (Br. 292).

praedam] 'means of gain': for a bribe he would recommend men to the electors.

CHAPTER 50.

27. **signa aquilaeque]** 21. 27.

Page 34.

1. **undecuma]** The other legion of this province had been sent to Britain (Intr. p. xx).

3. **defuisset]** virtual Or. Obl.: 'to think it had failed.'

4. **comitabantur]** sc. *legionem*.

5. **consularis]** 11. 11: he was governor of Dalmatia.

uis consiliorum] 'decision as to any course to be taken.'

6. **legionis legatum]** Note, p. 149.

7. **rerum]** 'for action.'

8. **quieta]** 'unobtrusive.'

10. **poscentibus]** the legionary getting much better pay.

13. **summa rerum]** 'plan of action,' as in II 81.

17. **clauarium]** the idea being that their long march must have worn their boots out ('nail-money')! In Suet. Vesp. 8 we read that certain *classarii* who had to do the journey between Rome and Ostia or Puteoli on foot claimed a similar due called *calcearium*. The thrifty emperor found a characteristic way out of the difficulty: henceforth they had to travel barefoot. One thinks of the boots supplied to our policemen.

20. **dum]** practically causal, as in 56. 1, 78. 31. The force only appears in cases like this, where the action was by no means intended to produce the stated result. The exact meaning of Tacitus is not very clear here; apparently people were quite ready to supply provisions, but in the plundering much got wasted. Cp. iv 22 where plundering is allowed: *ita paucis diebus per licentiam absumpta sunt quae aduersus necessitates in longum suffecissent*.

CHAPTER 51.

21. *celeberrimos*] of persons first in Livy. With *auctor* the best Latin uses *bonus* or *locuples*.

22. *inreuerentiam*] only used by Tac. and the younger Pliny.

27. *ratio*] 'the (necessary) conditions': cp. i 83 *ratio rerum*, Caes. B. G. 5. 16 *equestris proelii ratio*, 4. 23 *rei militaris ratio*. In iv 63 *r. belli* is 'military considerations,' and sometimes the phrase means 'plan of campaign.'

distulerant] sc. *eum*, with which *meritum* agrees. The tense seems strange, but no doubt the application was made just after the battle: it seems strange that this particular place should be chosen for mentioning it. For the subject matter cp. 25. 15 n.

28. *quam quae...exsoluerentur*] 'than could be paid': Br. 505 (ii).

Page 35.

1. *pugnatum est*] during the siege of Rome: 83. 5 n.

3. *Sisenna*] a contemporary of Sulla and Cinna: his history, written in very archaic style, is mentioned in terms of high praise by Sallust Jug. 95. 2.

4. *uirtutibus gloria...flagitiis paenitentia*] Note the picturesque datives: 'virtue found pride, crime repentance.' We should say 'the sense of pride (and regret) for...was keener.' The belief in the degeneracy of one's own times appears as early as Homer, whose heroes, he tells us, lifted stones etc., etc. in a way quite impossible for *οἱ νῦν ἄνθρωποι εἰσι*—'men as they are now.' Seneca treats the matter in an interesting letter (Ep. 97): *luxuria et negligentia boni moris et alia quae obiecit suis quisque temporibus: hominum sunt ista, non temporum*, he says.

6. *memoria*] 'history.'

res locusque] 'subject and occasion.'

7. *solacia mali*] almost the same principle as that of the mutinous troops of 11. 4.

CHAPTER 52.

10. *si qua...clementius adirentur*] 'if there could be found anywhere an easier ascent to...': *si* as in 30. 14.

clementius] In this sense *mollis* seems the favourite adj., *clementer* however is commoner than *molliter*. *Lenis*, *leniter*, are also good Latin.

11. **aquilas signaque]** the legions left behind at 50. 30.

12. **quidquid Veronae...foret]** including the Dalmatian contingent of 50. 3.

13. **commeatibus]** 'convoys.'

14. **necterent moras]** a favourite phrase of Tac.'s, perhaps used first by Sen. Ira 3. 39. *Moras* is of course brief for *causas morandi*: cp. Vergil's *causas nectere*, *causas morandi innectere* (shortened by Stat. Th. 5. 743 to *moras innectere*).

nimius] 'too powerful.' The use with ref. to persons is poetic and silver. Generally it simply means 'going too far,' the matter in which excess is shewn being added in the abl. (or poetic gen. as in 75. 7): Hor. has *nimius mero*, Sall. *fiducia nimius*.

15. **certiora]** sc. *praemia*.

17. **praesens]** 'in person.'

19. **media]** 'ambiguous,' half way, as it were, without committing himself: Plin. ep. 9. 13. 17 *medio ambiguoque sermone*.

20. **edisserens]** with acc. and inf. and then with a direct object, which Tac. often allows himself after *dissero* (81. 14) following the example set by Sallust. The use is unknown to the best prose, except with pronouns and neut. pl. of adjectives.

ita compositus ut] 'carefully adopting a tone that would enable him to....'

21. **ex euentu rerum]** 'according as things turned out.'

abnueret] 'refuse responsibility for'; **agnosceret]** 'claim as his work': cp. A. 6. 8 (*agnoscere crimen* opposed to *abnuere*) and 75. 23 below.

23. **in senatorium ordinem adscitum]** Under Augustus the theoretical right of every citizen to stand for high public office was cancelled, and the privilege became dependent on membership of the 'senatorial class.' To this body the Emperor could, as here, admit a man; such admission did not at once give him a seat in the senate, which was dependent, ordinarily, on the holding of a magistracy, but it enabled him to stand for that magistracy.

27. *uolentia*] 'desired by,' a Grecism (*βουλομενα*) used by Sallust and once again by Tac. (A. 15. 36).

CHAPTER 53.

31. *eulluissent*] virtual Or. Obl., 'had, as he put it, made... count for nothing.'

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4. *quam ad*] 7. 16.

5. *insectatione*] as in l. 20 sqq.

8. *Germanorum Raetorumque*] 5. 12, 8. 3.

9. *procella*] of chapters 16 and 17. Livy has anticipated Tac. in the use of this picturesque word for a 'charge.'

12. *imputandum*] a typically silver vb. It has two forces: (1) as in 86. 10 'to claim credit for doing something' (the person who owes the credit, if expressed, stands in the dative), and (2) as here, 'to put the responsibility for something on someone,' the person responsible standing in the dative. Each use may of course be found in the passive. Tac. (who does not use the word in the *Dialogus* or *Annals*) has 8 exx. of (1) [which is generally the commoner] and 5 of (2). [In *Martial* the word becomes, under (1), a mere equivalent for '*dare*': e.g. 4. 82. 2, 10. 30. 26, 12. 48. 13. The familiar sundial device *pereunt et imputantur* (the hours pass, and what we do in them we are made responsible for) is from *Mart.* 5. 20. 13.]

damno...stetisse] 'had cost...damage.' •

16. *Daciam*] 46. 10 sqq., esp. l. 20 sqq.

18. *Gallias Hispaniasque*] 35. 25 sqq.

22. *fefellere*] *ἐλαθον*, 'escaped notice of,' as often in Livy. In the best writers the meaning is almost entirely confined to the impersonal vb.

25. *nutriebat*] a poetic use: cp. however *Caes. B. G.* 7. 32 *alere controuersiam*.

CHAPTER 54.

28. *remedia potius malorum quam mala*] 'not indeed the evil day, but the remedy for that evil day.'

29. *confitenti*] conditional ptc.

31. *falsis ingrauescebat*] 'falsehood aggravated his condition,' the metaphor being that of a patient deceiving his doctor.

Page 37.

1. *apud ipsum*] 'in his presence.'

2. *eoque plures*] to try and suppress rumours generally having the effect of spreading them. The idea is a favourite of Tac.'s; cp. i 17 *famam supprimentes augebant*, II 96 *id (sermones populi coercere) praecipuum alimentum famae erat*.

ac si...narraturi] 'and indeed some who would have told the truth if they had been allowed to.' For the ptc. see on 3. 11.

6. *remittendo*] instrumental. They took them round the camp to see how strong they were, and then sent them back to Rome to report.

10. *perpulit*] sc. *Vitellium, ut...mitteretur* meaning 'to let him be sent.' Cp. A. 11. 36 *Caesarem perpulere ne histrioni consuleretur*, 'not to allow an actor's interests to be consulted.'

13. *fallere temptavit*] This inf. with *temptare* occurs in Nepos and Hirtius, but is otherwise poetic and silver: cp. 82. 27.

17. *remeavit*] rare outside poets, Livy and Tac.; Cic. has it once, Caesar never.

18. *ultrō*] 'even,' a step beyond: 18. 17 n.

21. *cui*] masculine, 'a witness whom.'

CHAPTER 55.

24. *Priscum et Varum*] 36. 17 n.

25. *quattuordecim*] all but two: Note, p. 150.

27. *obsidēre*] 'occupy.'

28. *legio*] a legion, i.e. one now first enrolled. The *classici* would be those of the Misenum fleet.

30. *ceterae*] the two praetorian cohorts left, the *cohortes urbanae* and the *vigiles*: Note, p. 150.

Page 38.

1. **diffidentia properus**] 'made impatient by his fears,' not expecting to have power for long, he made the most of it: cp. II 47 cited on 41. 16.

3. **sociis**] All Rome's subjects were not in the same position. Some preserved a certain amount of independence, varying in the several cases according to the special arrangements entered into with them by Rome and detailed in a *foedus* guaranteeing their permanence. To these alone the term *socii* really applied, but was often extended to include the class which had no independence, no *foedus*. Here it evidently denotes this class alone.

Latium] One of the most important means by which Rome recognised the advance of her provinces towards her own form of civilisation was by the conferring on them or parts of them the *ius Latium*. The most important privileges involved in the 'Latin status' were *commercium* (34. 7 n.) and increased facilities for acquiring the Roman franchise.

6. **lacerare imperium**] Sall. H. 1. 46 *largitionibus rem publicam lacerari uidebam*, Cic. Off. 1. 17. 57 *patriam omni scelere lacerare*. I think Tac. had in mind the description of Antonius in Phil. 2. 36. 92 *non solum singulis uenibant immunitates sed etiam populis uniuersis ciuitas...prouinciis totis dabatur...neque uectigalia solum sed etiam imperium populi Romani deminutum est*, for his words below (l. 9) recall Cicero's words l.c.: *si haec manent, quae stante re publica manere non possunt*.

8. **aderat**] 'had minds only for.' There is a bolder use of *adesse* in A. 4. 25 *aderant* ('came up') *in barbaros*. But the ms. reading is *habebat*, whence Gronov. conjectured *hiabat*, a word often used of open-mouthed admiration and greed: cp. IV 42 *hiatu praemiorum*.

10. **salua re publica**] 'without ruining the state,' cp. Cic. cited on l. 6.

12. **ambitione**] 'wish to curry favour.'

13. **animi**] with adjectives first used in prose by Sallust and Livy. There are a few exx. of its use with vbs. in Cic.; its

commonness in Plautus and Terence suggests that it was regarded as colloquial. So 58. 2, 73. 26.

14. *obnoxius*] 'at the mercy of.'

CHAPTER 56.

16. *foedarum*] 'of evil omen': the *bubo* and *strix* (common and screech owl respectively) are most often mentioned in this connection; the vulture too belongs here.

17. *diem*] 'light of day,' almost 'sky,' (both usages silver and mainly confined to poetry): cp. Stat. Th. 3. 495 *dextris | alitibus praetexe diem*.

obtenderent] = *uelarent*: for this 'inversion' see on 2. 27. The word is rare outside silver Latin: we have the ordinary const. in 36. 3.

18. *profugus*] Unwillingness on the part of the victim was a very bad omen. Cp. the curious story in Seneca (Ben. 3. 27), where a man in his cups prays that Augustus may never reach Rome again alive: *idem omnes et tauros et uitulos optare*, he adds, for his safe return would mean much sacrificing.

19. *ut feriri...mos est*] In the Greek ritual the ox was killed kneeling, with head turned up or down according as it was offered to a celestial or to an infernal deity. It seems as if the same held good at Rome: on this occasion however they had to kill Vitellius' victim as best they could.

21. *ostentum*] 'omen': such a general could only mean failure. So A. 15. 34 Vatinius is called one of the *foedissima ostenta* of Nero's court.

22. *quis...modus*] dependent on *rogitans*.

23. *modus*] the limit to be set to these processes: 'how far they ought to go in hurrying on or delaying.'

25. *trepidus*] 'shewing his anxiety.'

dein] seems to mean 'worst of all.'

26. *defectione*] see next chapter.

28. *pauens*] with an acc. (other than a neut. pronoun) is rare: Sallust first has it in prose.

29. *summi discriminis incuriosus*] full of alarm at each

'blow' as it came, yet indifferent about the main point, viz. how his army would meet the Flavians. Cp. *summa rerum* 70. 20.

incuriosus] a silver word. For the gen. see on 16. 12.

31. **in aperto foret**] 'was the obvious course,' like Ovid's *in promptu regere est* (M. 2. 86). For the prepositional phrase see on 2. 30.

Page 39.

1. **dum dispergit**] 'by scattering': 50. 20 n.

acerrimum...tradidit] 'he simply sent to their death...troops that were full of courage and resolved (on fighting) to the end.'

4. **dicturis**] 3. 11.

6. **et**] See on *que* 23. 10.

CHAPTER 57.

8. **sed**] our connective 'now.' The use of the word to introduce an explanatory digression is very Sallustian: the literal force seems to be 'but *I must tell you.*'

13. **Claudius Apollinaris**] Intr. p. xxi.

14. **strenuus**] 'vigorous.'

17. **municipia coloniaeque**] simply collective expression for the towns of the neighbourhood. Strictly of course, *colonia* was a town originally founded for military purposes, and represented part of the system by which Rome became mistress of Italy.

18. **Capua fida**] abl. abs.

19. **municipalem aemulationem**] For such jealousy cp. II 21, where the people of Placentia suspect that it was not so much the Vitellians as natives of neighbouring *coloniae* who burned down their famous amphitheatre; A. 14. 17, a riot between inhabitants of Nuceria and Pompeii at a gladiatorial show held at the latter town (of which a celebrated Pompeian wall-painting is said to be a representation). In modern times the same spirit has found a more laudable outlet—in the founding of Universities.

24. **urbana cohors**] Note, p. 150.

gladiatores] A Iulianus is mentioned by the elder Pliny (37. 11. 2) as superintending a gladiatorial exhibition of Nero's:

he may be the man mentioned here, a kind of gladiatorial 'manager,' like Cicero's friend Atticus.

25. *conlata*] 'pitched close to each other,' ready for battle next day.

27. *occupauere*] sc. the two forces.

28. *ipsorum*] probably 'its inhabitants,' but possibly 'its defending force'—Iulianus and the rest: cp. 76. 1 sqq.

CHAPTER 58.

29. *Vitellio*] 65. 13 n.

30. *Narniae*] They had then fallen back from Mevania (55. 11).

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1. *per*] 'by way of': Vit. had now to meet an attack from the S. as well as that of Antonius from the N.

3. *refouebatur*] a silver word, used by Ovid.

dum...appellat] 'giving the name of...to.'

4. *nihil ultra uerba ausurum*] They could only kill Antonius 'with the mouth.'

6. *nam*] explains his turning to freedmen instead of friends.

8. *tribus*] The levy was conducted by taking each tribe in order and choosing from it a certain quota for each legion. Under the Empire such levies were very rare: we hear of one after the loss of the legions under Varus in 9 A.D.

11. *indicit*] 'imposes on them the supply of.'

12. *operam*] 'personal services.'

13. *ultra*] going beyond *offers*: 18. 17.

simulatio officii...uerterat in fauorem] They pretended to be enthusiastic for him, until at length they really began to hope he would win. A psychological phenomenon not entirely unknown in modern politics. *Vertere* as in 6. 27.

14. *ac*] introduces a further explanation. They forgot it was the contemptible Vitellius, remembering only that this was an emperor in misfortune.

15. *casum locumque*] 'the blow it had suffered and the position it was now in.'

16. *deerat...elicere*] Propertius and Silius each have this constr. once. Tac. has it three more times. It is of course only an extension of the use after *desinere* and *cunctari*.

17. *quae natura est*] We should say 'as is the way with': cp. 84. 3. The antecedent is really the quality expressed by *immodicus*—τὸ ἄμετρον εἶναι. Analogous is the use of *qui* etc. where we should expect *talis*: e.g. Ovid. M. 5. 373 *in caelo (quae iam patientia nostra est) | spernimur*.

18. *Caesarem*] He had accepted the title Germanicus (I 62): that of Augustus he had only refused to assume for the present (II 62). Cp. 86. 18.

19. *superstitione*] 'superstitious respect for.' Note the combination of the causal abl. with a *quia* clause.

21. *inconsulti impetus*] 'inconsiderate impulse,' best explained as a descriptive gen., though we should tr. 'originated by....' For the sense, cp. II 32 *bella impetu ualida per taedia et moras euanuisse*.

22. *ualida*] concessive, 'strong though they be.'

dilabi] used loosely to denote the idea of 'neglecting his business': the strict meaning would be absurd with *ubi ipse non aderat*.

24. *contemptim*] without regard for his feelings, 'callously.'

discrimine] not troubling to select their time.

25. *quae non dabantur remisit*] 'excused them duties which they were not disposed to fulfil,' lit. 'which were not being granted, i.e. performed willingly.'

CHAPTER 59.

28. *renatum*] after seeming to be at an end after the fall of Cremona. So the Flavians had thought (50. 31).

30. *Vitellii discessus*] 56. 27.

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2. *ut*] 33, 26.

in] of condition, circumstance. The thought is from Sall.

Iug. 75. 8 *Numidae sicut plerique in noua deditione officia intenderant.*

5. *eluctantibus patuit*] 'as they struggled out, they saw clearly.' For the acc. *niues*, see on 30. 16.

10. *custodias*] for case, see 30. 16.

13. *Flauio Sabino*] Vespasian's brother, made city prefect by Otho: more about him in 65 sqq. The office of the *praefectus urbi* dates, as a permanent institution, from the Imperial period only. It was held exclusively by consulars, and its duties involved mainly the maintenance of peace and order in the city. The prefect was commander of the *cohortes urbanae* (Note, p. 150).

16. *penetrabant*] got through into Rome.

locum] 'place of refuge.'

19. *quamquam*] 10. 3 n.

20. *atque*] besides, there was no need to run risks.

21. *respectu*] 'from regard for,' a meaning perhaps not found before Livy and Ovid, but thenceforward common.

necessitudinum] not 'necessities'; see Dict.

CHAPTER 60.

24. *aquilae signaque*] sent for in 52. 11.

26. *tuto...aggestu*] abl. of circumstances, lit. 'with a safe means of bringing.'

28. *Vitellianis*] at Narnia, 58. 30.

30. *quam*] for *magis quam*: so 70. 3, and elsewhere in the Histories. Livy has it after *uelle*, Tac. after *probare*, Valerius and Silius after *sedet*, in the sense 'I am resolved,' and Silius after *placet* (in the same sense).

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3. *ambiguas...acres*] represent relative sentences, the apodotes to the *si* clauses: 'who might waver...but would be fierce.' *deliberarent*] 'were allowed to think things over.'

9. *Tarracinam Narniamque*] Tacitean brevity: T. in the south did not strictly correspond to N. in the north, for the latter was held by Vitellius, whereas the former was in the hands of the rebel Iulianus (57. 27).

CHAPTER 61.

16. *terrore fama*que] hendiadys.

19. *multis*] i.e. centurions and decurions (troop commanders).

20. *tradere...certabant*] poetic inf., found also in Curtius and the younger Pliny; not used elsewhere by Tac.

donum...gratiam] in apposition to *tradere*, 'a boon...and source of influence.'

22. *eos*] such men as were last mentioned.

26. *castra*] the main one, at Narnia.

28. *quo*] for *ut*, though the comparative can at most only be said to be implied in *lenirent*. But Tac. like Sallust sometimes uses it where no comparative idea can be said to exist. For the ordinary rule see Br. 102.

amissi] like our use of 'lose' in regard to a strategic position (very common in Tac.).

30. *defectorum*] 'open to, received by, deserters.'

reliquum] 'there remained only.'

Page 43.

1. *gregarius miles induruerat*] cp. 31. 26 (at Cremona).

2. *Priscus et Alfenus*] 55. 24.

4. *pudore proditiōis...exsoluerent*] 'freed...from any shame about playing traitor,' a phrase repeated in A. 6. 44.

CHAPTER 62.

6. *Vrbini*] having been brought thus far on the road to Fanum Fortunae (50. 12).

12. *immane quantum*] a translation of *θαυμάσιον ὅσον*, 'it was wonderful how,' and so 'to a surprising degree.' In reality of course *exercitus exitium accepit* is a dependent question and the vb. should be in the subjunctive, but the real force of the words had been by this time forgotten. So e.g. Hor. O. 1. 27. 6: 'a naked sword at a pleasant banquet *immane quantum discrepat*, jars terribly.'

15. *absurdus ingenio*] Sall. C. 25. 5 *ingenium eius haud absurdum*, a passage doubtless in Tac.'s mind here, for in l. 18

he applies to Valens what Sallust has just said of Sempronia: *docta psallere saltare elegantius quam necesse est probae.*

16. *lasciviam*] 'indecenty' or else 'rakish life': it often comes very near to 'drunkenness' in Tac. See more on l. 18.

17. *Iuuenalium*] Nero at first indulged his passion for appearing on the stage by instituting what were called *ludi Iuvenales* (A. 14. 15, 15. 33, 16. 21), celebrated in a private theatre of his own. He gradually extended his experiences, appearing in public first at Naples, then in Greece, and finally at Rome.

uelut ex necessitate] Tac. A. 14. 14 implies that Nero forced noblemen to appear on the stage. Even Iulius Caesar seems to have compelled one Laberius, a Roman knight and composer of mimes, to do this.

18. *mimos*] the favourite form of the drama in Imperial times. No specimens have survived and about all we know of it is that the subject was generally of an immoral character and the language suiting to the subject: cp. e.g. Mart. 8. pref. where *mimicam uerborum licentiam adfectare* is afterwards referred to simply as *lasciue loqui*. This rather favours the first interpretation of *lasciviam* above.

scite] too well for an amateur, for a gentleman: see Sall. cited on l. 15.

19. *legatus*] 'as commandant.'

Verginium] Intr. p. xvii.

infamauit] 'represented in a bad light,' to Galba, one would assume from the mention of the matter before the affair of Capito. We know the relations between Galba and Verginius were strained (18, and cp. Intr. l. c.).

20. *Fonteium Capitonem*] the governor of lower Germany, was put to death by his officers on a charge of treason against Galba. It was however suspected that they only did so *after* they had themselves in vain tried to persuade him to such disloyalty (17).

22. *inlustratus*] 'shewn up,' 'put in a clearer light.' We should avoid the personal form and say '*his loyalty* was brought out more clearly.' Cp. Vell. 2. 18 *horum fidem Mytilenaeorum perfidia illuminauit.*

CHAPTER 63.

24. *id quoque*] as if he were going on to say *facere*.
 25. *sub signis uexillisque*] i.e. in regular order.
 31. *uictricibus*] sc. *legionibus*.

Page 44.

1. *neque . . ualidae*] 'if the conquered kept the peace, the presence of the legions would not be felt as a burden; on the other hand they were strong enough to deal with insubordination,' a good ex. of Tacitean brevity. For *neque...et* see on l. 11.

4. *secreta Campaniae*] 'retreats (asylums) in C.,' the gen. being of course strictly partitive. Otho had attacked Vitellius on the same side, offering him *quemcumque quietis locum prodigae uitae legisset* (I 74).

6. *permisisset*] subj. of virtual Or. Obl., representing *permiseris* of Or. Rect. (Br. 471).

8. *fidere*] The hist. inf. here is not remarkable, as *quibus* is a mere connective and really = *et eis* (Br. 78).

numero seruorum] i.e. how many he would stipulate to be allowed.

9. *litorum*] 'seaside resorts.'

torpedo] apart from its application to the fish, the word is elsewhere found only in a fragment of Cato and (several times) in Sallust.

11. *obliuisceretur*] *obliturus esset* would be more usual (Br. 115).

CHAPTER 64.

13. *praefectum urbis*] 59. 13.

15. *capesseret*] jussive—really the jussive which in Or. Obl. represents the impv. of Or. Rect.: cp. the acc. and inf. which at once follows.

proprium] 'his own particular': see on 59. 13.

17. *uigilum*] Note, p. 150.

ipsorum] 'the speakers.'

fortunam partium] 'the flowing tide,' as it were: cp. 82. 19 *pro Flauianis fortuna et parta totiens uictoria*, 84. 22 *Vitelliani*

numero fatoque dispare; somewhat similar is II 82 'against Vitellius a portion of the forces would be enough, supported by Mucianus' generalship, Vespasian's name and the knowledge that nothing was insuperably difficult for fate to effect (*nihil arduum fatis*).'

18. *omnia prona uictoribus*] The phrase is subject to *de-futuras*: 'the fact that for those who had once conquered the rest was easy, *was on their side*.' For the constr. (which is really very like the Greek articular infin.—τὸ πάντα ῥᾶδια εἶναι) cp. the *nihil arduum fatis* cited in the last note, which is the subject (along with *pars copiarum*, *dux Mucianus*, and *Vespasiani nomen*) to *sufficere uidebantur*. Cp. the use commented on at 33. 19.

22. *illas*] 'which we see,' in Or. Rect.

23. *ne prosperis quidem parem*] Not the same idea as in 49. 14 n., but that of IV 34 *prosperis deesse*, 'incapable of using his success.'

adeo] 39. 23.

ruentibus] The use of the neut. pres. ptc. as a noun is very rare, but was occasioned here by the need of a parallel to *prosperis* (for which see 11. 28), 'when things began to go badly.'

24. *patrati*] a rare word outside Sallust and Tac. (who often has it). Of course our word *perpetrate* is from the compound (a fairly common word in silver prose).

penes] sc. *futuram*, 'would fall to.'

25. *occupasset*] 63. 6 n.

id] simply prepares for the *ut* clause.

CHAPTER 65.

28. *erecto animo*] 'enthusiasm.'

29. *inualidus*] causal.

sed] i.e. though his age explained everything, some people sought other explanations.

30. *occultis*] 'uttered in whispers,' 'insinuated.' So in ad Her. 4. 27. 37 *occulte fecisse suspicionem* is contrasted with making a direct, refutable charge.

31. *tamquam*] 4. 19.

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2. *priuatis rebus*] 'when their positions were those of ordinary citizens.'

4. *adfectam fidem*] quite our 'damaged credit': so Petr. 12 *fides male ambulans*, A. 6. 17 *fides refecta*.

pignori] pred. dat., 'as a security.'

5. *quamquam*] 2. 24.

6. *offensarum operata*] This 'periphrastic' force of the participle gen. (the phrase simply = *offensae operatae*, 'secret ill-feeling') is distinctly poetic, and altogether rare outside Lucr., who has e.g. 1. 354 *clausa domorum*, 315 *strata uiarum* (cp. 82. 14 below). Very similar to our passage is A. 4. 41 *tacita suspicionum*.

10. *domi*] 'in private.'

aede Apollinis] on the Palatine, famous for the library which adjoined, the shelves of which were reserved for the best compositions only: for a writer of the day to have his works enshrined there was something like what it is for a Frenchman to be admitted into the Académie.

12. *Cluuium Rufum et Silium Italicum*] both men of high position and (perhaps in deference to the place of meeting) literary fame. Cluius was an orator and historian, whose authority Tac. twice cites in the Annals. Silius is well known to us as a friend of the younger Pliny's (one of whose letters is on the subject of his death) and the author of the longest and dullest of extant Roman epics—a poem on the second Punic war.

13. *uisentibus*] For the dat., cp. 1 14 *deterius interpretantibus tristior habebatur*. It may be simply an extension of the dat. of the person judging: cp. on 15. 16.

Vitellii...Sabinus] Note the variety.

CHAPTER 66.

15. *tam facile...flexisset...quam ipse cesserat*] 'had found it as easy to change...as he found it to resign.'

18. *ut quisque...fidus, ita...abnuebant*] the more loyal a man was, the more he protested against making terms.

20. *fidem in libidine*] 'the fulfilment (of any agreement they

might make) would depend on the caprice (will) of the victor': cp. Cic. Fam. 9. 16. 3 'none can guarantee how a thing will turn out which *positum est in alterius uoluntate, ne dicam libidine.*'

21. *superbiam*] usually explained as 'confidence in himself' (*sui fiducia*). But I believe the idea is that it would be kinder of Vespasian to kill Vitellius than let him live on to be pointed at as his defeated rival. For such a thought, cp. Sen. Ben. 2. 11, where a man saved from Caesar's proscription by a noble, who was always boasting of what he had done for him, becomes no longer able *superbiam eius ferre* and says 'Give me back to Caesar: you only saved me in order to have me to point to (*ut haberes quem ostenderes*).' Cp. too some of the proverbs in the collection ascribed to Publilius Syrus: *uita in miseriis etiam contumelia est; ignoscere hominum est, nisi pudet cui ignoscitur; plus est quam poena sinere miserum uiuere*. In Martial (3. 21) a slave whose master had illtreated him saves his life: the epigrammatist says this was giving him not *uita*, but *inuidia*: the master would feel so ashamed of himself.

22. *ne uictos quidem laturos*] 'not even Vit.'s own troops, the vanquished, would endure (such an ending).' *Periculum ex misericordia* explains this: Vit. would run a good risk of being killed by his own men in their pity for him (cp. 84. 15). Another expl. of this thoroughly obscure passage assumes that the *misericordia* is Vespasian's: Vesp., if he spared Vit., would be in great danger, as the vanquished Vitellians would be certain to try once more to raise their old leader to power again. This thought however comes at l. 28 and is not likely to be worked in twice.

23. *sane...sed*] *μὲν...δέ*: 'it was true...but still.'

25. *familiam*] 'an establishment.'

27. *ipsi*] Vespasian.

30. *casibus dubiis*] apparently abl. abs., 'while their fortunes were still in the balance.' The use of *casus* is strange: cp. however A. 15. 29 *at nunc uersos casus*.

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2. **Pompeium...Antonium]** rather rhetorical history: the Egyptians killed P. without any orders from Caesar, and A. committed suicide.

3. **nisi forte]** 'but perhaps,' the ironical use familiar to the best Latin.

4. **altiores spiritus]** 'higher soul,' 'greater magnanimity.'

Vitelli] the emperor's father, a great friend of Claudius, who not only twice shared with him the consulate, but chose him as colleague in his censorship (47—51 B.C.). Tr. then 'a V.'

cliens] 'a mere dependent.' In what sense this was true it is impossible to say.'

5. **quin...accingeretur]** Or. Obl. for *q. accingis*: 2. 17.

9. **nihil atrocius...quam in quod sponte ruant]** 'nothing worse than (an end) on which we shall rush of our own free will, an end we choose to face.' This end is contrasted with the one hinted at in the last words of the speech, and described in chap. 85.

11. **id solum referre]** 'the only point is: are we to...': cp. Liu. 28. 19 *id referre utrum in pugna...an inter uerbera et uincula omnia foeda atque indigna passi exspirarent*.

CHAPTER 67.

14. **miseratione]** for his wife and children.

15. **pertinacibus armis]** 'by persisting in fighting.'

17. **parens]** Sextilia: in II 64 he says her behaviour and that of Galeria, Vitellius' wife, contrasted favourably with that of Triaria, wife of L. Vitellius. Sextilia, he says, never allowed herself to feel any pleasure in her son's elevation and *domus suae tantum aduersa sensit*.

22. **Narniae]** 63. 26 sqq. The legion is the *classica*, the cohorts the praetorians of 55. 25 sqq.

23. **familia]** abl.

25. **blandae et]** 'encouraging, but...': 23. 10n.

silentio] a kind of descriptive abl.; cp. e.g. *quo statu sit res* Liu. 22. 22. 10.

CHAPTER 68.

26. *rerum humanarum*] 'the vicissitudes of man's fortunes.'

28. *Romanum...exire*] in apposition to *facies*, an extension of the common use of the acc. and inf. as subject to *est*. Midway comes such a case as Cic. de Off. 2. 18. 63 *haec benignitas...utilis est, redimi e servitute captos*. 72. 30 is like our passage.

29. *fortunae suae sede*] 'the home that was the mark of his position,' its outward embodiment: so Rome is *sedes imperii* in Cicero. Cp. l. 18 *penates priuatae* and 70. 6 *arx imperii*.

31. *uiderant*] happening in their own times. For the history of the deaths of the various emperors see Intr. pp. xvi sqq.

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2. *rus*] 'country house': Cic. Rose. Am. 46. 133 *habebat r. amoenum et suburbanum*.

3. *tamquam in acie*] Intr. p. xviii³: 'almost as they might have fallen in a regular battle.'

4. *in sua contione* etc.] will make a very cumbrous sentence unless it is broken up in translation. The outline is: *V., pauca* (namely *cedere...miserarentur*) *locutus, simul filium protendens, modo...commendans, postremo .reddebat*. Divide after *miserarentur* and *commendans*, translating the present participles as finite vbs: 'he spoke a few words, saying that...At the same time he held out... At length, when tears stopped him, he loosed the dagger and....'

sua] 'called together by himself': so *suos* 'still devoted to him': the point is, his subjects in Rome were still obedient.

5. *prospectantibus...feminis*] i.e. there was no riot.

12. *pugionem*] mentioned as an emblem of the Imperial power by Suetonius (in connection with Galba, uit. Galb. 11). And in his life of Vitellius he says (8) that when that governor was proclaimed by his troops someone brought him the *gladius diui Iuli*.

13. *reddebat*] conative, 'tried, wished to': cp. 69. 22.

15. *ut...positurus*] a rare combination, but cp. Liu. 7. 23. 6 *ut proelium initura*. It is clearly borrowed from the Gk. use of the fut. ptc. with *ὥς*.

aede Concordiae] just under the Capitol (see Map), a favourite meeting-place of the Senate.

17. **obsistentium]** 'those who wished to block his way to.'

19. **aliud]** 'every other': 31. 20.

CHAPTER 69.

22. **eiurari]** conative. For the vb. see on 37. 4.

23. **cohortium]** of the praetorian guard and other city forces:

Note, p. 150.

26. **sinum]** 'care,' a metaphorical use which Cicero has.

29. **studiis uulgi]** as shewn at end of ch. 68.

minis] 67. 25. **Germanicarum]** Intr. p. xx.

Page 48.

1. **consectarentur]** not uncommonly used by Tac. of attacking people *in detail*: cp. Agr. 16, A. 12. 31, 13. 40.

4. **sumpsere]** 'took on their shoulders': the opposite idea in II 76 *adicere consilio periculum suum*.

5. **descendentibus]** 'on their way to the forum,' a common use of the vb.

8. **tumultu]** causal: the rencontre was sudden and unexpected, so passed off without serious results.

10. **e praesentibus]** 'in view of the position,' *ex* taking the common force of 'according to' (as e.g. in 52. 21).

11. **mixto]** belongs to all the ablatives: lit. 'troops and senators and knights being intermingled.'

14. **multi...simulauere]** When Vespasian became emperor, many people pretended that they had been with Sabinus doing their best for him that day.

17. **bellum]** 'love of fighting.'

secuta] 'influenced by': cp. A. 14. 51: Nero appoints Tigellinus *impudicitiam atque infamiam in eo secutus*.

18. **eo]** because of the negligence of the guards.

20. **neglecta]** 'the unguarded parts': a partitive gen. might have been expected in dependence: see 29. 25 n.

22. **artas res]** sc. *futuras*.

23. **potuerit]** 'could have,' had he chosen to.

24. *laboribus...parum intentus*] had small zeal for the duller parts of a soldier's duty.

25. *et hibernus imber* etc.] i.e. even if they had tried to keep a good look-out it would have been almost impossible.

CHAPTER 70.

27. *in uicem*] 'against each other.' *Cocptarent* is of course trans. (4. 21 n.).

29. *primipilaribus*] 6. 25.

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2. *imminentem...et inritandis oculis*] 20. 2 n.

3. *quam*] For omission of *potius* see on 60. 30.

5. *conuenisse*] = *conuenit* of Or. Rect., 'would have been right': Br. 461.

contra] 'instead of doing so.'

8. *celeberrimam*] 'most frequented'—the forum (69. 5).

9. *togatum*] 'a civilian.'

10. *unum e senatoribus*] 'simply an ordinary senator': cp. Cic. de Or. 1. 111 *unus ex togatorum numero* ('a mere amateur'). S. means he did not regard himself as the brother of one who might become emperor.

11. *captiuitatibus*] 'sacks,' as in 83. 2. The chronological order is carefully observed: (1) the battle before Cremona, (2) the sack, (3) the surrender at Narnia.

12. *iudicatur*] 'the issue was decided.'

13. *desciscentibus*] 44. 1 sqq.

14. *ultro*] 'actually.' V. ought to have kept to the agreement even if he had simply accepted it when offered by Sabinus, but he had done more than this (18. 17 n.) and actually been the one to suggest it.

15. *pacem...uictis utilia, uictoribus tantum pulchra*] You, he says, had much to gain by an agreement, for you were practically conquered: *we*, the victors, gained no solid advantage by it, but merely honour. Cp. Sen. H. F. 368 *pacem reduci uelle uictori expedit: | uicto necesse est* (a luxury for the victor, a necessity for the vanquished).

17. **non**] One would expect *ne*. Had he written *non se, non filium, sed legiones peteret*, the constr. would be more normal, as the negative would belong to the objects of the vb. rather than the vb. itself, and where the negative is not closely attached to the vb. *non* is not uncommon: e.g. Ovid writes *uos quoque non caris aures onerate lapillis*. But the introduction of a new vb. (*iret obuiam*) owing to the parenthesis makes it necessary to take *non* closely with *peteret*.

18. **uix puberem**] rhetorical, for he was 18 years old.

quantum...profici] 'what good was there in...', *quantum* standing for *quantulum*.

20. **summa rerum**] What happened in Rome was a trifle: the main thing was the approaching struggle with the Flavian troops: cp. 56. 29 and II 16 where a man's rashness is described as *nihil in summam profutura* (not likely to have any effect on the war as a whole).

21. **cessura**] 'turn out,' well or ill.

trepidus] 'confusedly.'

24. **esse**] 'was, he said'; *cuius* is simply connective (cp. 63. 8n.).

modestiam] 'desire to avoid any extreme step.'

26. **internuntius**] causal, 'as the go-between.'

inuissae] sc. by the soldiers.

27. **ipse**] of course introduces Tac.'s comment.

28. **tantum...causa**] 'merely the pretext.'

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CHAPTER 71.

1. **templa**] of Saturn and Concord: see Map.

2. **erigunt aciem**] 'march up': usually the general is said *erigere aciem* when he leads his men up hill.

aduersum] 'opposite.'

5. **dextrae**] nom., agreeing with *porticus*.

subeuntibus] 'as they came up,' a good ex. of the force of the

dative; so in Greek regularly: Thuc. 1. 24 Ἐπίδαμνος ἐστὶ πόλις ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐσπλέοντι.

egressi] sc. the besieged.

8. **longum uidebatur]** Cic. uses *longum est* with an infinitive.

9. **sequebantur ignem]** a vivid expression, 'tried hard to follow in the track of the fire.'

11. **decora maiorum]** 'the pride of our forefathers': Verg. A. 2. 448 *decora alta parentum*.

12. **diuersos]** 'two different.'

13. **lucum asyli]** the hollow between the two summits of the hill: see Map.

15. **nec]** Does Tac. mean that these people formed a *third* element of danger?

sisti] 'be stopped.'

16. **ut]** 'as was natural': 33. 26. If a siege had been a likely event (as in the early days of Rome), the aediles would have seen to it that the buildings were not allowed to reach a height likely to render the Capitol less impregnable.

17. **solum]** 'ground level.'

20. **nitentes ac progressos]** 'their foes who were climbing up and indeed had got well on their way up.'

22. **aedibus]** The plural here and iv 53 seems due to the fact that it was a triple temple shared by Jove, Juno and Minerva.

aquilae] a technical term not used elsewhere. In Greek *ἀεὶς* ('eagle') denoted the pediment (triangle which surmounted the pillars of a temple), i.e. the *fastigium* itself. The origin of the Greek name is quite uncertain. Here *aquilae* must be either 'supporting beams' (the slanting timbers being perhaps compared to eagles' wings and then called 'eagles') or (more naturally) 'ornaments in the form of eagles.'

23. **sic...conflagrauit]** Its doors held fast, yet it was burnt down; the besieged failed to defend it, yet the enemy could not plunder it.

25. **conflagrauit]** I do not know how it was that these temples, built mainly of marble, could be so absolutely destroyed by fire.

CHAPTER 72.

29. **propitiis]** apodosis: 'when they would have been favourable.'

30. **sedem...excindi]** in apposition to *facinus*: cp. 68. 28.

auspicato] after duly ascertaining the will of the gods.

31. **pignus imperii]** the Capitoline temple being a symbol of the eternal Roman empire, a thought often found in Latin literature: cp. e.g. Verg. A. 9. 448—9: 'I will see that you are remembered *dum domus Aeneae Capitoli immobile saxum | accolet imperiumque pater Romanus habebit*.

dedita urbe] This passage and one in the elder Pliny (34. 39. 139), which says that the Romans pledged themselves to Porsena to use iron for agriculture only (i.e. surrendered their arms) are the only ones that have preserved the record of an event so little flattering to Rome's pride. The usual account (e.g. Livy's) is that the King gave up the siege in sheer admiration for the courage of Scaeuola.

Page 51.

1. **capta]** 390 B.C.

2. **ante]** in 83 B.C., the year of Sulla's return from the East: see on 83. 5.

4. **quibus...causis]** abl. of attendant circumstances, qualifying *incensum*. We must make a separate clause: 'and yet what was the motive, what was gained?'

5. **stetit]** He means that he could have endured the calamity had it been necessary for the preservation of the state. But during Rome's struggles for existence the temple escaped all damage—only to perish in a battle which was fought not *pro patria*, but simply to decide which of two men was to be emperor.

7. **spe magis etc.]** 'on a scale influenced rather by the hope he had...than by the thought that Rome's power justified it.' *Quo* in the sense of *quod* is common enough after *non* (Br. 485): the use after *quàm* is new.

9. *sociorum studio*] suits the account we have (e.g. Liu. 1. 45) of his building of the temple of *Diana* on the *Aventine*: we hear nothing elsewhere of any such matter in reference to the Capitol. Tac. seems to have got his facts confused here.

13. *ea magnificentia quam...ornarent* etc.] 'such magnificence as...could embellish, but hardly increase.'

16. *quadringentorum quindecim*] $507 - 83 = 425$ (according to Roman inclusive reckoning). Tac. may have slipped, or (more probably) an x has been dropped in our ms. from ccccxv.

18. *dedicauit*] i.e. finished it.

19. *felicitati*] alluding to his surname *Felix*: here at least it failed to be applicable. According to the elder Pliny (7. 43) Sulla himself made this remark.

Catuli] son of the victor of Vercellae, the most respected man in the senate during the first half of the 1st century B.C.

21. *ea tunc aedes*] 'such was the history of the temple which....'

CHAPTER 73.

25. *ex diuerso*] 5. 8.

26. *captus*] The vb. is often used of the loss of the use of a faculty or part of the body. So *mente capi* several times in Cicero, *oculo* and *pedibus capi* in Livy.

animi] 55. 13.

non lingua, non auribus competere] Sall. H. 1. fr. 88 *neque anima neque auribus aut lingua competere*. *Constare* is used in this sense by Cicero and Livy (*mente, auribus atque oculis*, etc.).

27. *expedire*] 'develope,' or perhaps simply 'devise.'

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2. *sanguine ferro*] form one idea, so *flammis* takes *que*.

3. *miscent*] as often (esp. in Verg.) denotes confusion: 'made one wild scene of fire and slaughter.'

8. *umbra*] 'empty dignity.'

11. *per uarios casus*] Verg. A. 1. 204.

14. *signo*] 'watchword.'

ultro] not content with being able to reply, they took the initiative: 18. 17 n.

15. *audaciam pro latebra haberent*] Sall. C. 58. 17 *audacia pro muro habetur*.

CHAPTER 74.

17. *lineo*] linen being regularly worn by the worshippers of Isis. They also shaved their heads (Iuv. 6. 533) but this apparently was not *de rigueur*.

18. *sacricolarum*] 'Priests' or 'worshippers.' Suet. Dom. 1 says *sacrificulos*, which would mean the former.

23. *casus...expressam*] a phrase twice used by Val. Fl. (1. 398, 2. 655 of designs on a shield and cups respectively). *Casus* is not an ordinary ex. of the retained acc. In that usage (almost confined to poetry and silver prose: Br. 233) the acc. practically represents an abl. of instrument or respect, and the passive vb. accompanying it is intelligible enough: in *os impressa toro*, for instance, if Dido's face is pressed to the couch, we may in a sense say the same of Dido. But in the ex. before us the altar is in no way portrayed, and we must tr. 'having his fortunes portrayed on it,' explaining the constr. as an imitation of the Greek middle. Analogous is the well known *suspensi loculos* (Hor. 1. S. 6. 74): here again the ptc. has no passive force; the bags, not the boys, are hung. [Another possible explanation is that Tac. is extending the use of the retained acc. commonly found with *indui*. The design on the altar is regarded as its dress.]

24. *in sinu*] an allegorical design, representing him as taking refuge in the arms of the god.

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CHAPTER 75.

5. *stipendia in r. p. fecerat*] a rare metaphor, quite like our 'served the country.'

7. *argueres*] potential, Br. 149 (ii).

sermonis nimius] see on 52. 14. Livy seems to be the first to use it with a gen.

8. **septem annis quibus]** *Annis* is the ordinary abl. of time within which (Br. 325), 'in the course of the 7 years.' But *quibus* is a clear case of the abl. to express duration of time (see on 22. 16). The preceding abl. may have had some influence here.

9. **calumniatus est]** 'found to blame,' without any idea of falseness of charge, but perhaps implying that it was a trifle. Tac. nowhere else uses the word.

12. **quod...constiterit]** The antecedent of *quod* is the sentence *ante...erat*, the truth of which, he says, would be admitted by all. The subjunctive is that of mild assertion (Br. 149), rarely used with a relative pronoun as subject.

15. **paci consultum]** They said '*paci consultum est*, the interests of peace have been served, by his death,' for all chance of jealousy was thereby removed.

17. **consortem imperii]** cp. II 77 where M. calls himself Vespasian's *socius*, ib. 83 where he is described as *socium magis imperii quam ministrum agens* ('playing the rôle of').

sed] resumptive: 6. 27.

19. **velut uicem reddens etc.]** 'to some extent repaying a debt, for when people asked...Atticus had put himself forward as the offender, and was therefore regarded as having taken on himself....'

21. **confessione]** as the contrasted *sive* clause shews, means 'confession of truth.'

23. **agnouisse]** 52. 22.

CHAPTER 76.

25. **L. Vitellius]** 58. 30.

26. **Feroniam]** the temple of the goddess, not far from Tarracina. The functions of Feronia are most uncertain: from Liu. 22. 1. 18 one would infer she had some special connection with liberty.

27. **gladiatoribus remigibusque]** 57. 24 sqq.

29. **periculum audebant]** The constr. of this vb. with an object (other than a neut. pronoun) is rare outside Tac.

Page 54.

3. *fluxi*] 'dissolute.'

personantes] 'revelling boisterously,' like a modern tripper, a nuisance not unknown to the ancients: cp. Pliny the younger's story of the crowds who came to see a wonderful dolphin at Hippo until *locus ipse quietem secretumque perdebat* and the poor creature had to be killed to get rid of them, or again his account of the spring of Clitumnus, where he says the pillars are covered with inscriptions put there by visitors: '*plura laudabis*,' he says, '*nonnulla ridebis*' (9. 33, 8. 8).

4. *in ministerium luxus*] 'to await upon their licentious needs.'

6. *Apinius*] 57. 15.

7. *conquirendis*] 'levying,' so that *donis* is quite an equivalent to the 'benevolences' of our own history.

8. *invidiae*] 'unpopularity.'

CHAPTER 77.

9. *Verginil*] not of course Verginius Rufus.

10. *praesidium*] 'force sufficient to hold it.'

13. *sistit*] lit. 'set,' i.e. guided and brought them there.

18. *inulti*] They avenged themselves, sold their lives dearly: cp. Sil. 5. 210 *poenas pro morte futura...petunt*.

24. *pressas*] change of case, for variety.

25. *uerberibus foedatus*] 'cruelly flogged.'

27. *tamquam*] 4. 19.

29. *lauream*] 'a laurelled despatch,' the laurel being emblematic of victory. Probably the leaves were bound up with the letter.

31. *insistere*] 'continue with,' as often in Tac.

quod] the fact that he wrote and did not at once march to Rome.

Page 55.

6. *quo modo pessimus quisque, uitiis ualebat*] rather an obvious apophthegm: see on 16. 12.

CHAPTER 78.

10. **Saturni dies**] beginning Dec. 17. The Saturnalia is one of the most interesting of Rome's festivals, including as it did many of the elements of an English Christmas and an Italian carnival—e.g. (1) the interchange of presents among friends and relations, (2) wearing of festal costume, (3) license to indulge in certain pleasures at other times illegal, e.g. gambling, (4) temporary liberty given to slaves, who could now say what they liked of and to their masters without fear of punishment.

12. **defuere**] sc. at that time (as the tense of *arguerent* shews). Yet *fuisse* in l. 19 suggests a later standpoint.

14. **tamquam**] has the same force as at 4. 20, but here takes a ptc. (cp. 59. 20).

17. **in gratiam**] 'to please.'

21. **desciissent...uidebatur**] a variety of moods bold even for Tac. The subj. is of course that of Or. Obl.

26. **tris**] Six of the 16 (Note, p. 150) were with L. Vitellius (58. 31): seven must have surrendered at Narnia (63. 24).

27. **adsignauerit**] 22. 8 n.

29. **praepostero**] 'ill-timed,' reversing the proper order of events. He had paid no heed to Mucianus' counsels of delay before; *now* when everything depended on prompt action he began, if his tale was true, to listen to them.

uel dum regerit inuidiam, crimen meruit] 'admitted he was blameworthy by the very words with which he tried to put the odium elsewhere.' For *dum* causal cp. above, 50. 20 and just below.

31. **insigniuere**] almost equivalent to *infamauere*, 'made it a much more serious business': cp. A. 16. 13 *tot facinoribus foedum annum di tempestatibus et morbis insigniuere* and similarly in Agr. 41.

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CHAPTER 79.

7. **maesta omnia**] 'nothing but bad news.'

11. **tamquam ad uictos**] 'with the belief that he was charging men already beaten.'

12. *excepere*] 'met,' 'stood firm against.'

14. *gnara*] 8. 5.

17. *Narniam*] 63. 2 sqq.

CHAPTER 80.

23. *quod*] The sing. is a good ex. of Tac.'s tendency to avoid the normal. For sense, cp. Verg. A. 7. 507 *quod cuique repertum | rimanti telum ira facit*, and for *obuium* 33. 22.

27. *exercitus*] those of Antonius and Cerialis.

praetexto] a silver word, not used outside the Histories by Tac.

28. *rei publicae*] 'the public weal.'

32. *Arulenus Rusticus*] was tribune in 66 A.D. when Thrasea Paetus was condemned: he resolved to use his veto in the matter and could only be prevailed upon to abandon the plan by the prayers of Thrasea himself. Under Domitian he published a panegyric on Thrasea and Helvidius which brought on him the martyrdom he had courted.

inuidiam] 'scandal.'

Page 57.

1. *nomen*] 'one who represented.'

propria] 'personal.'

2. *proximus lictor*] The lictors marched in single file before the magistrate: if the last of them, the man who immediately preceded him (*proximus*), was harmed, it shewed that he himself must have been in considerable danger.

6. *usque in exitium*] 'so far as to kill him.'

8. *modestior*] 'better behaved.'

CHAPTER 81.

10. *Musonius Rufus*] teacher of Epictetus.

12. *aemulatus*] so A. 6. 22 *sectam aemulari*. The idea of rivalling and imitating would easily pass into that of welcoming and embracing, but no real parallel is found outside Tac.

13. *bona*] for the case, see on 52. 20.

14. *armatos*] lecturing men who had swords in their hands, forsooth.

19. *uirgines Vestales*] regarded with exceptional respect by the Romans. They were attended in public by a lictor, the highest magistrates making way for them to pass. A story is told of a Claudius who ventured to celebrate a triumph without permission and would have been ignominiously dragged from his chariot by an indignant tribune, but for the presence in it of his daughter, a Vestal.

20. *eximi*] The vb. is used with *diem*, *horam* etc., in the sense of 'wasting,' by Cicero and others. The use here is analogous: cp. too *donare* in Luc. 4. 27, where the troops refrain from fighting for one day—*patriaeque et ruptis legibus unum | donauere diem*.

25. *dirempta belli commercia*] from Verg. A. 10. 532 *belli commercia Turnus | sustulit ista prior iam tum Pallante perempto*.

CHAPTER 82.

28. *pontem Muluium*] See Map.

Page 58.

2. *suspectabant*] apparently only in Terence and the elder Pliny (and then with the other meaning 'look at or up to'), before Tac., who rather affects it.

3. *colles*] of Rome.

imbellis populus] 'only an unwarlike rabble': see on 2. 12.

5. *ut adstiterat*] They remained 'as they were when they halted,' on the Flaminian road. For geography see Map.

8. *propinquabat*] a distinctly poetic word, common (with this poetic dat. of motion towards) in Tac. Sallust uses it once.

plebs] 80. 21.

9. *et ipse*] like the Flavians.

praesidiis] 'defending columns.'

11. *uaria*] 22. 16.

consilio ducum] 'as regards generalship.'

13. *qui...flexerant*] the third Flavian division. *Flectere* as in 41. 26.

14. *angusta et lubrica viarum*] 'the narrow, slippery roads': see on 65. 6.

16. *subeuntes*] 'the assailants as they came up.'

17. *equitibus*] of *Cerealis* (79. 10 sqq.)

18. *in campo Martio*] where the second Flavian division would come into action.

CHAPTER 83.

23. *hos, rursus illos*] 22. 16.

25. *inclinasset*] 33. 17 n.

26. *expostulantes*] in this sense mainly silver. *Postulare* takes acc. and inf. even in Cicero: cp. 81. 21.

28. *cedebant*] 'passed, fell to': 10. 26.

30. *balineae popinaeque*] i.e. the spectators did not allow the fighting to interfere with their baths and their meals: hence his remark on their *inhumana securitas* ('nonchalance').

Page 59.

1. *quantum...libidinum*] 'all the scenes of vice ever witnessed.'

2. *captiuitate*] 70. 11.

prorsus ut...crederes] 'in short (9. 9) enough to make one think.'

3. *lasciuire*] 'keeping carnival': cp. on 62. 16.

5. *bis Sulla, semel Cinna uictoribus*] In 88 B.C. Sulla by armed force drove into exile Marius, who had got himself invested with the command in the East previously entrusted to Sulla. In 87, during Sulla's absence, the consul Cinna intrigued with Marius: Rome was besieged by their troops and eventually had to capitulate, when the constitutional arrangements made by Sulla were overthrown. Marius died soon afterwards, and after three years of almost despotic power Cinna was killed in a mutiny of his troops. The party however still lived, but was finally broken up by Sulla who returned in 83, eventually got possession of the city, and in a battle fought outside the Colline gate finally established his power by a victory over the Samnites who had joined the revolutionaries.

8. *uelut*] = *uelut si* : 11. 4 n.

festis diebus] 78. 10.

9. *exsultabant, fruebantur*] vivid asyndeton : 25. 30 n.

CHAPTER 84.

11. *castrorum*] the Praetorian camp : see Intr. p. xvi and Map.

14. *ueterum*] the old Praetorians of Otho (Intr. p. xx).

16. *aggerem*] 20. 5.

23. *fato dispares*] 64. 17 n.

25. *amplectebantur*] The ind. rounds off the string of historic infinitives, as often in both Sallust and Tacitus.

28. *contrariis uulneribus* etc.] a commonplace: cp. e.g. Sallust's description of the end of the Catilinarian army (C. 61. 3).

ea cura etiam morientibus etc.] Ov. F. 2. 833 *tunc quoque iam moriens ne non procumbat honeste | respicit: haec etiam cura cadentis erat.*

30. *auersam*] as the attack came from the N., must mean 'Southern.'

31. *Auentinum*] The omission of the preposition is bold, but cp. on 42. 10.

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1. *diem*] 'the dangers of the day.' This strained use of the word is quite in the silver style: cp. *nox* in e.g. Val. Fl. 2. 573 *nox Dorica* (=night attack of the Greeks), Stat. Th. 4. 133 *nox Danaï* (the murder by night ordered by Danaus). Tac. has a yet bolder use in A. 6. 20 (*diem induere*) where *dies* means 'his mood on any given day.'

3. *quae natura pauoris est*] 58. 17 n.

4. *omnia metuenti* etc.] 'though he was afraid of everything, the immediate position of the moment seemed to him always the most unsatisfactory.'

7. *terret solitudo et tacentes loci*] Verg. A. 2. 755 *horror ubique animos simul ipsa silentia terrent.*

8. *clausa*] 'closed doors.'

9. **puđenda latebra**] in a dog kennel according to Dio : Suet. (Vit. 16) says he hid in the porter's lodge, with a dog chained before the door and a bedstead and mattress piled in the way.

10. **occultans**] for the *ptc.* see 38. 27 n.

14. **e Germanicis**] represents a noun and adj. : 'one of the German troops.' So in Sall. Jug. 93 *ex praesentibus misit* 'sent some of those about him.' Tac. has several *exx.* of the use, which corresponds to the Gk use of the partitive gen. directly dependent on a vb. (λαβὼν τῶν ἱππῶν). The man would of course be one of Vitellius' own troops : see Intr. p. xx.

15. **per iram...quo eximeret**] Note the variation.

CHAPTER 85.

21. **cadentes statuas**] reminds one of the famous description of the fall of Seianus in Iuv. 10. 58 (Tac.'s account is unfortunately lost) : *descendunt statuae, restemque sequuntur* : cp. 7. 20 above.

22. **Galbae occisi locum**] close to the *lucus Curtii* (I 41).

24. **uox...animi**] 'an utterance that shewed...spirit.'

25. **tamen**] 'at any rate.'

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CHAPTER 86.

1. **patris**] 66. 4.

3. **studia exercitus etc.**] 'Rarely has the affection of an army been secured for any man by virtues as it was for V. by vices,' lit. 'seldom has it fallen to a man when sought for by good qualities as it fell to him by bad ones.'

6. **adsit...uertuntur**] 36. 7 n.

8. **meruit**] Bad as he was, he deserved from his liberality to find faithful friends. For his liberality, see on 13. 31.

10. **imputare**] 53. 12 n. They could not say 'We betrayed Vit. for Rome's good, and deserve credit for doing so,' for they had first betrayed an excellent emperor, Galba.

13. **praecipiti in occasum**] 'sinking to its close,' suits the *sun* rather than *dies*, and so Liu. 10. 42. 1. But the same author has *praeceps ad uesperum dies* 25. 34. 14.

The very effective ending of the book is quite an exception in Tac. It is quite possible he wrote it for some occasion when he was giving a specimen of the work in a preliminary *recitatio* (Intr. p. xiv).

18. *Caesarem*] as prince. So Nero and Britannicus were styled under Claudius, and Piso (Intr. p. xviii) says in 129 '*Caesar adscitus sum.*'

After the events of this last chapter, L. Vitellius surrendered and was put to death. For a brief space, as Domitian was intent on the pleasures only of his rank, the chief power lay with Antonius and Varus (the latter being made prefect of the praetorians). But Mucianus soon arrived and easily thrust aside two men of so notoriously bad character. Many of the troops that had fought under them were sent out to Rome, to prevent any danger of disturbances, and open rupture soon followed. Varus lost his post (see on 6. 27) and Antonius, finding that Mucianus had warned Domitian against him, went off in disgust to Vespasian. But that emperor seems to have given him little encouragement.

Soon after this point the ms. of the *Histories* breaks off. Some time in the last six months of 70 Vespasian seems to have arrived in Rome. Of subsequent events we have hardly any account: it is quite uncertain, for instance, when the Batavian revolt was finally settled. Of Mucianus we know little more than that he was consul in 70 and 72, and was probably dead when the elder Pliny published his *Historia Naturalis* in 77. Antonius became one of Martial's patrons, and was still alive in 98. The epigrammatist treats him much more flatteringly than Tacitus (see Intr. p. xxi), going even so far as to say that Antonius need regret to recal no day of his past life—a bold thing to say of a man who had been convicted of forgery. Caecina met with a suitable end, being caught conspiring against Vespasian and summarily executed (in 79, the year of Vespasian's death).

A. Legions.

All legionaries were Roman citizens. But often enough they only got the franchise by entrance into the legion, and were really barbarians, natives of the district in which it was quartered. Vitellius' legions from Germany were evidently more German than Roman⁸: compare too the way in which the third legion practises Syrian rites in this book⁹.

9 24. 2

The officers of the legion were :

(1) The *legatus*¹ (commandant), always chosen from among men of senatorial rank².

(2) 6 *tribuni*³. The office of tribune was open only to men of equestrian rank and young men of senatorial rank who held it as one of the necessary preliminaries to the political career by which they would enter the senate.

(3) *praefectus castrorum*⁴. The duties of this officer were multifarious, chief among them one may note the pitching of the camp, provisioning and engineering. He was often an ex-centurion.

(4) 60 centurions⁵, one of whom ranked above the others as chief centurion of the legion (*primipilus*). These men were the flower of Rome's army : cp. the incident narrated in ch. 54.

(5) *Speculatores*⁶, who formed a kind of bodyguard, often acting as executioners or couriers.

B. Auxiliaries.

These troops were non-Roman, and formed cavalry and infantry contingents (*alae*⁷ and *cohortes*⁸ respectively: hence *cohortes alaeque*⁹ denotes auxiliaries, as contrasted with legionaries). The infantry was lighter armed than were the legionaries¹⁰. Each contingent was commanded by a *praefectus*¹¹, a Roman of the same class as the legionary tribunes.

¹ 7. 13, 14. 8, 19. 12, 50. 6.

² Cp. 52. 23 in *senatorium ordinem adscitum ac legioni praepositum*, and Antonius Primus (Intr. p. xxi).

³ 9. 31, 19. 14. In 9. l.c. a tribune commands the legion, a very exceptional thing: see note there.

⁴ It is generally stated that it was not until Domitian that each legion had its own prefect. But 7. 15 seems to prove an earlier date. 14. 9 proves nothing either way.

⁵ Passim. For *primipili* see 6. 25, 70. 29.

⁶ The *speculatores* of 43. 29 must have belonged to praetorian cohorts.

⁷ Passim: e.g. 2. 25, 6. 3.

⁸ Passim: e.g. 2. 31, 6. 3.

⁹ 45. 2, 46. 14, 50. 30.

¹⁰ 18. 23 n. A. 1. 51 proves this.

¹¹ 12. 2, 79. 18. The command of an *ala* ranked highest: then came the tribunate, and last the command of a cohort. Yet even the commander of a cohort had really a far more independent position than the tribune: hence in 19. 12 we find these auxiliary commandants coupled with legati. [I do not

Some of the contingents, like legions, bear surnames—generally based on that of the founder of the corps. Thus an ala Tampiana is mentioned, raised probably by the governor of chap. 4: in this book we meet with an Aurian and a Sebosian ala¹.

C. Troops of the Capital.

(1) Praetorian Guards (see Intr. p. xvi). They were commanded by two *praefecti*², generally men of equestrian rank. There were usually 9 cohorts, but Vitellius formed 16, each containing 1000 men and commanded by a tribune³, with centurions⁴ and *speculatores*⁵. Cavalry was attached, apparently to each century⁶.

(2) *Cohortes urbanae*⁷. Their number seems to have varied: Vitellius had four⁸. They were commanded by tribunes, but the whole force was regarded as belonging to the sphere of the *praefectus urbi*⁹.

(3) *Cohortes uigilum*¹⁰. Of these there were 7, each commanded by a tribune, the whole force being under a prefect of equestrian rank. It was composed of freedmen who were not admitted to any other branch of the army: its duties were those of a modern police force and fire brigade combined.

Any force temporarily detached from a legion or cohort would have a standard (*uexillum*) of its own, and the name *uexillum* is therefore often given to such a body, its members being called *uexillarii*¹¹.

understand how it is that Tac. says in 6. 26 that Varus was promoted to the rank of chief centurion: he was already (A. 13. 9) prefect of a cohort. Heraeus says it was the centurionship of a praetorian cohort that he got: this of course might be promotion, but I do not know what evidence there is for his statement.]

¹ 5. 14, 6. 3.

² 36. 17 n.

³ 69. 24, 84. 10.

⁴ 56. 3, 70. 29.

⁵ See n. 6 on p. 149.

⁶ 55. 26.

⁷ 57. 24.

⁸ II 93. Each of these contained 1000 men.

⁹ 64. 15.

¹⁰ 64. 17.

¹¹ 6. 19, 21. 29, 22. 10, 48. 21.

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SILVER LATINITY

A. Vocabulary¹:

Characteristic words, phrases :
alioqui, epistulae (a letter),
imputare, in vicem

New words :

exercitium, incuriosus, refo-
uere,

New meanings :

confusio, dies, nubes, re-
spectu

quicumque

celeber, nimius, obuius

consumere, egredi, excutere,
exponere, expostulare, exu-
ere

pro, super

adeo, contra (esse), et or que
(adversative), quam, tam-
quam

B. Constructions.

Nouns and Pronouns :

gen. of respect; w. sponte;
sui

acc., retained; w. egredi

abl. of duration

Adjectives :

neuter = nouns

superlative, w. quamuis

(and *participles*), w. quam-
quam

Participles :

pres., lax uses of
fut., of purpose etc.

Verbs :

infin., free use of

subj. w. donec

of frequency

w. quamquam

See also 'brevity,' 'metaphor,'
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